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COMMENT ON RESUMPTION OF GENEVA ARMS TALKS

LD081119 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 8 May 86

[Text] Geneva May 8 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhev:

The talks on nuclear and space armaments between the USSR and the United States were resumed here today.

According to analysts, the current round may prove to be more difficult and complicated than the previous ones. And the fault is not with the Soviet side. The entire world knows of the large package of Soviet initiatives the implementation of which would ensure an end of the arms race on earth and its prevention in outer space.

The Soviet delegation put forward detailed concrete proposals, totally in accord with the mandate agreed upon by the two sides, on all three subjects of the Geneva talks -- space, strategic offensive and medium-range armaments.

The United States displays a different approach, both to the question of limiting the arms race and to the problems of universal peace and security.

In the period of two months following the completion of the fourth round, Washington undertook a number of steps directly contradicting the "spirit of Geneva". Suffice it to mention the continuation of American nuclear testing, condemned universally, the continuing threats against Nicaragua and the piratic attack on Libya.

The American Administration also undertook a series of hostile, provocative actions against the Soviet Union. As to the essence of the items on the agenda of the Geneva talks, the Americans prefer either to keep silent or limit themselves to empty, demagogic declarations.

Quite indicative in this respect were the statements made by the two delegations on arriving in Geneva. The head of the Soviet delegation, Viktor Karpov, pointed out that his delegation had clear instructions to strive for concrete decisions at the talks on the questions under discussion on the basis of equality and equal security in the interests of strengthening universal peace. On the international situation, he observed with regret that the United States was undertaking lately actions that were openly directed at heightening tension and enhancing the threat of war.

On the contrary, the American statement, made public a little later, was reduced, as always, to the attempts to justify its unreadiness for serious talks, specifically with the help of a loose interpretation of the agreements reached at the Geneva summit meeting.

The journalists were puzzled by the additional remarks by Max Kampelman, head of the American delegation. He said that the Soviet delegation had no moral or political right to criticise the U.S. actions against Libya, and accomanied his pronouncement by rude anti-Soviet remarks. The Washington ambassador was clearly sensitive to the issue -- the piratic attack on Libyan cities sparked off extensive indignation against the United States in all the continents. His tone, however, as well as the obsession to impose on others the solution of the questions of law and morality were hardly appropriate in advance of the important negotiations.

Further Report

LD080849 Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 8 May 86

[Correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev report]

[Text] The fifth round of the Soviet-U.S. Talks on nuclear and space armaments will begin to day in Geneva. The activity of the Soviet delegation at the talks is based on the major initiatives in the field of disarmament, especially the program of liquidating nuclear armaments put forth by the Soviet Union. Our country proposes reaching mutually acceptable agreements on space weapons, strategic offensive weapons, and medium-range missiles in Europe. Here is a report from Geneva by our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev:

The fourth round of the talks, which was completed 2 months ago, as you know, was not crowned with success. The U.S. representatives, acting against the decisions of the Geneva summit, evaded serious, businesslike discussion of the problems. As not long before the next round, the United States has undertaken aggressive acts openly aimed at whipping up international tension. Such are the real, alarming facts. The Soviet side is filled with resolve for the next round, just as it always has been, to work for practical solutions to the questions under discussion based on equality and equal security, and in the interests of strengthening universal peace. It is also necessary that the U.S. side display goodwill and a desire to seek mutually acceptable solutions.

Karpov on Talks

PM071326 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For The Geneva Talks"]

[Text] Geneva, 6 May -- The USSR delegation arrived here today to hold the fifth round of talks with the U.S. delegation on nuclear and space arms.

In a statement made on his arrival in Geneva, delegation leader V. P. Karpov said that the Soviet side has submitted detailed specific proposals at the talks in all three areas -- on space, strategic offensive arms, and medium-range arms in Europe. These proposals entirely and fully accord with the task of realizing the mandate of the talks agreed on earlier with the United States.

The delegation has clear instructions to strive at the talks for specific solutions to the questions under discussion on the basis of equality and identical security and in the interests of strengthening world peace. Of course, the reciprocity of our partners -- the American side -- is needed to achieve results.

In conclusion V.P. Karpov expressed gratitude on behalf of the USSR delegation to the residents and the authorities of the canton and city of Geneva for their invariable hospitality.

FURTHER COMMENT ON CONCLUSION OF TOKYO SUMMIT

Imperialism's 'Contradictions' Revealed

OW070554 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0200 GMT 7 May 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Yuriy Ulyanov commentary]

[Text] The conference of leaders of seven leading capitalist countries has completed its work in Tokyo.

[Ulyanov] Hello, comrades: What are the first news reports about the achievements of this meeting? Commenting on the so-called declaration, the AKAHATA newspaper writes: The participants in the conference have remained totally silent on the goals of preventing a nuclear war and the dismantling of nuclear weapons. More than that, the paper notes, the further buildup of the war potential of Western countries is presented in the declaration as the primary means to preserve international peace. This, in essence, is where agreement between the leaders of the seven countries ends.

Regarding any attempts to normalize the problems of capitalist economy, as it was announced at the press conference in Tokyo, and I quote, they ended in failure. [no reference to closing quote as heard] This is the 12th time that similar meetings between the United States, Western Europe, and Japan have attempted to dull the differences in the contradictions that are occurring in the spheres of trade, currency, and finance.

Meanwhile, one war replaces another. The sound of the macaroni and steel war has not yet died when the salvos of agricultural conflict are heard. On 31 March, Reagan, at his Santa Barbara, Californai ranch, announced punitive measures against the EEC in answer to Spain and Portugal joining the Common Market. The U.S. President became indignant that from now on these countries will be buying the necessary grain, soybeans, and corn, not from America, but from their neighbors. In retaliation, Washington threatened to restrict European imports and to raise duties on these goods.

The keen competitiveness between the capitalist countries, each of which is trying to extricate itself from difficulties at the expense of its partners, lies in the social composition of these countries.

The result of the recent Tokyo conference again confirms the correctness of the thesis expressed in the political statement of the 27th CPSU Congress on the relationship between the three main centers of contemporary imperialism: The United States, Western Europe, and Japan are full of obvious and hidden contradictions. No meetings can overcome this.

U.S. Exerts 'Unprecedented Pressure'

LD071746 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1446 GMT 7 May 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] The U.S. President's trip to the Pacific Ocean region has ended. During the course of it the head of the White House took part in the meeting of the leaders of the seven leading capitalist states in Tokyo. Ronald Reagan's present trip was the longest since he has been in the White House. Journalists calculated that the President covered over 35,000 kilometers during the 13 days it lasted. Even these figures show that the head of the U.S. Administration attached special significance to his current trip.

As its motto for the visit Washington chose the words winds of freedom. As a White House spokesman revealed, the thinking behind this was that mankind senses fresh winds which are clearing the air and opening up new prospects. But it would be useless to hope that across the ocean they truly recognized the need to reckon with new breaths of wind. No, the winds being fanned by the United States are designed to sweep away governments which are not to the liking of the U.S. Administration. For what Washington regards as freedom is that which is personified by the dushmans in Afghanistan, the contras in Nicaragua, and the bloody regime of Chon Tu-hwan in South Korea. The forces that are fighting for true freedom and national independence are called terrorists by the United States which threatens them with further retribution.

As a result of unprecedented pressure Washington succeeded in imposing its opinion on the participants in the Tokyo meeting. A declaration was adopted at the conference which, under the guise of countering terrorism, is directed toward the struggle against the liberation movement of the peoples. It contains slanderous attacks on Libya and a whole set of sanctions against that country and other states. But the United States failed to get the participants in the conference to accept all its demands. They refused, among other things, to impose economic sanctions against Libya and to stop buying Libyan oil. Washington also failed to get open approval for the U.S. military raid on Tripoli and Banghazi. Nevertheless, the White House was quick to appraise the resolution adopted in Tokyo as consent to armed actions against governments and countries which are not to the liking of the U.S.

Speaking at a news conference in Tokyo before flying back to the United States, President Reagan made it clear that he is prepared to give the order to attack not only Libya, but also Syria and other countries. In the White House they have no desire to reckon with either international norms or common sense. In almost every speech he makes, the head of the U.S. Administration proclaims that he is prepared to go ahead with force. He has made the problem of so-called international terrorism his main theme. This is, of course, a preplanned move. Indeed, the U.S. Administration does not have a constructive idea to its name. It has no desire to advance any positive initiatives. The agenda of the Tokyo conference could find no place to discuss a question of such importance to mankind as preventing the arms race. This problem was touched upon only in passing. A conference which avoided the vital problems of today -- that was how the Japanese papers summed up the meeting.

As far as President Reagan is concerned, at his final news conference he called the Tokyo conference a triumph. The President believes that there has never been such a display of unity between the allies as there was in the Japanese capital. However, as L'HUMANITE accurately put it, this was unanimity, American-style. The U.S. President behaved in Tokyo not like a guest but like a governor who chose the subjects for discussion and demanded that all his wishes be carried out. But, if under pressure from Washington its partners were compelled to show solidarity in political declarations, when it came to economic problems it was a case of charity begins at home as far as each of the participants in the meeting was concerned. They were unable to surmount their financial and currency differences. The United States refused to guarantee a stabilization of the dollar, the fall of which is undermining other currencies, and Japan has found itself in a particularly complex position, since a sharp rise in the yen's exchange rate against the dollar leads to higher prices of Japanese exports.

The results of the meeting quickly affected the situation on the international exchanges. The yen leapt up yet again. As the Japanese YOMIURI notes, the results of the Tokyo meeting could become very painful to Japan's economy.

Terrorism Statement 'Ostentatious'

LD072118 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- TASS Political News Analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

After the meeting of seven major capitalist nations in Tokyo had adopted a statement on so-called international terrorism, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said: "This is a terrific statement. I can't tell you how pleased I am with how tough it is on terrorism".

After the United States aggression against Libya has been condemned by virtually entire international community, in the atmosphere when the indignation over U.S. nuclear testing in Nevada is mounting all over the world, Washington urgently needed some ostentatious action that would show to the public that the policy of the U.S. Administration is met with understanding and even supported if only by some of its allies. The statement on "terrorism" has become precisely such an action.

There is no denying that terrorism should be condemened resolutely and that all states should cooperate in eradicating it in whatever form — both individual acts of terrorism and particularly terrorism on a state level, when a great power which is, moreover, a member of the United Nations Security Council, uses its military power, resorts to methods of terrorism against another state, also a full-fledged member of the international community.

But arbitrariness in the international arena, which the U.S. aggression against Libya has been, means a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, of the generally recognized norms of international law. It puts international relations into utter disorder. This is shown by new threats now coming from Washington, and not only against Libya but also against Syria and Iran. And this means that a new crisis generated by the U.S. striving for hegemony might break out any moment.

Having "condemned" Libya and actually exonerated the USA for its attack on Libya, the participants in the Tokyo meeting virtually solidarized with the imperial policy of Washington which is implementing the practice of state terrorism all over the world -- from Libya and Lebanon to Grenada and Nicaragua. The participants in the meeting thus gave Washington a free hand for new actions of state terrorism against countries that annoy it.

In connection with the documents adopted in Tokyo, the Japanese "TOKYO SHIMBUN" pointed out that the measures proposed in the document cannot eradicate terrorism. As far as terrorism from the viewpoint of the Middle East situation is concerned, only an equitable settlement in the area can lead to the elimination of terrorism, and the participants in the Tokyo summit meeting should have exerted efforts in precisely that direction the newspaper writes.

They should have, but being unable to rise above their imperialist class interests, they have not done so. Crises and conflicts, the Middle East conflict among them, are the real root cause of and fertile soil for international terrorism. But instead of seeking collective ways for resolving them, for which the Soviet Union declares and which is required by the interests of universal security, the United States is doing everything to aggravate the conflict situations still more, to widen the conflicts, draw its allies in military alliances into its own ventures. This is clearly shown by the statement adopted at the conference of the seven.

Summit Supports 'International Brigandage

LD071651 Moscow World Service in English 1431 GMT 7 May 86

[Aleksandr Korolev commentary]

[Text] The 12th summit of the seven major capitalist nations was marked by crude United States pressure on its partners. The French newspaper L'HUMANITE has said that President Reagan's behavior in the Japanese capital was boss-like. This influenced the agenda of the Tokyo meeting and the character of the final document. The Washington administration kept complicated economic problems in the background to focus its efforts on forming an alliance that would put pressure on other nations who seek to pursue independent foreign policies. Washington administration representatives tried to justify this with a need to fight against terrorism. One of the final documents of the Tokyo meeting was the statement on the fight against international terrorism. That statement is evidence of Washington's duplicity. On the one hand, its authors condemn terrorism; in doing so they seek to benefit by the justified feeling of disgust and concern the world public has toward terrorism, which is being increasingly spread in the world. On the other, the document adopted on the United States initiative confirms the intention to use the problem of terrorism as a cover for its own actions of state-sponsored terrorism.

The Tokyo statement points to Libya as one of the main targets for joint pressure by the Seven. The United States secretary of state, Shultz, said after the statement had been adopted that it was a message to Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. Washington has achieved one of its main aims, its allies have virtually endorsed international piracy, to which Libya has fallen victim. They agreed on further actions against Libya. The statement speaks of their intention to impose a number of discriminatory measures on that country. Although there is nothing in that statement that would point directly to preparation of new military actions, the threatening wording is evidence that the Seven do have such plans.

A Tokyo correspondent for the American television network ABC has hinted at the possibility of joint punitive operations which can be launched on the pretext of fighting with terrorism. He said in his report that, according to American officials, what the United States allies have been doing to fight against terrorism was more important that what they had been saying on the issue. The American Secretary of State George Shultz, in a televised interview on the 4th, said outright that the fact that the United States carried out a military operation against Libya showed that it had such a means at its disposal and it was important that everybody know this. Whom is Mr Shultz trying to scare? Obviously those countries who, like Libya, are not going to bring their foregin policies in line with American demands, in the first place the non-aligned nations that have vigorously condemned the United States for international piracy in the Mediterranean.

President Reagan, on the eve of his trip to Tokyo, said that Iran and Syria were likely targets for United States military actions. Although these countries were not mentioned in the statement on terrorism, the American Administration's spokesman has said that if he were in the position of the Iranian or Syrian leadership he would consider the statement with great attention. This statement clearly hints at the fact that the United States, at the meeting of the Seven, won support for its policy of international brigandage. However, despite declarations of unity, the Tokyo meeting has revealed serious differences between some participants in the summit. Anti-Libyan actions by the United States were openly supported only by the leaders of Britain and Canada, the others took more cautious positions. And still the fact that their statement condemns Libya, which as suffered from state-sponsored terrorism, and not the United States, is clear evidence that the Western countries have virtually supported Washington's imperialist policies.

CBS CLAIMS U.S. TO USE CRUISE MISSILES AGAINST LIBYA

PM071414 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "The Plot Against Libya Continues"]

[Text] Washington, 6 May -- By all accounts Washington is once again "taking aim" at Libya, a country that has already been subjected twice to U.S. aggression.

News agencies have just transmitted a report that new plans for an attack on that Arab country are being drawn up deep inside the administration, plans providing for the destruction of its key military and economic targets. As the CBS TV company attests, the final targets have not yet been "settled," but the weapons that will inflict the strike have been chosen. THe televisions company's Pentagon correspondent pointed out that this time Washington intends to use cruise missiles. The reason for the choice is as simple as it is cynical -- since the United States suffered manpower losses during the last raid, the administration, concerned about its "reputation," prefers a "bloodless option" for the U.S. side. An cruise missile are essentially unmanned aircraft crammed with the most sophisticated electronic equipment, which not only charts the route to the target by taking the relief of the terrain into account but also ensures that antiaircraft means are overcome.

The Pentagon has already issued an order to the U.S Navy to send ships and submarines equipped with cruise missiles to the Mediterranean. At the same time, UPI reports that the U.S. flotilla biding its time in the part of the Mediterranean immediately adjacent to Libya includes ships capable of carrying cruise missiles on board. This means that they too will be equipped with this type of weapon by the time the White House issues the order.

Threat 'Campaign' Continues

LD071233 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 6 May 86

[Correspondent Yevgeniy Lukyanov report from Algiers]

[Text] Despite worldwide condemnation of the U.S. criminal aggression against Libya, Washington is continuing the campaign of threats and open military pressure that it has unleashed against this sovereign Arab country. This is in particular spelled out by major military NATO maneuvers -- with the U.S. 6th Fleet, consisting of the Coral Sea and Enterprise aircraft carriers -- being conducted in the Mediterranean Sea not far from Libya. According to press reports, they will soon be joined by a third aircraft carrier, the America, which is in the port of Naples.

According to the Algerian paper EL-MOUDJAHID, the fighter and reconnaissance aircraft based on these aircraft carriers are making flights in the direction of Libya and are intruding into Libyan airspace, an area controlled by the dispatchers of the Tripoli airport. The unceasing provocation of the U.S. military against Libya, notes the paper, is one form of Washington pressure on the Libyan Jamahyriyah that is fraught with the danger of new armed aggression.

The Arab press has been turning attention toward the U.S. Administration's attempts to draw their West European allies into the anti-Libyan crusade through pressure and intimidation and secure their participation in the implementation of the policy of state terrorism, which is being carried out by the White House in the international arena. This course of terrorism, notes the weekly REVOLUTION AFRICAINE is being practiced by the state and superpower that is called upon to serve as a guarantor of peace and international security.

The Arab countries, concludes REVOLUTION AFRICAINE must analyze lessons of the past and correctly evaluate the danger that hangs over their heads so that they can secure the adoption of common and effective measures to ward it off.

Aircraft Carriers Redeployed

LD080645 Moscow TASS in English 0636 GMT 8 May 86

[Text] Washington May 8 TASS -- Quoting Pentagon spokesmen whose names were not disclosed, AP news agency has reported the redeployment of aircraft carriers of the U.S. Sixth Fleet off Libya's shores.

The "Coral Sea" set a course towards the U.S. naval base in Rota (Spain) where it is sail in already on Wednesday, May 7, and will then move to its base in Norfolk, Virginia, U.S.A.

The "America" is involved, as before, in the NATO "Distant Hammer 86" maneouvres scheduled to last till May 16. At present it is located north of Siciliy.

The "Enterprises," which steamed to the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal from the Indian Ocean, moved to Naples where it is to sail in on Thursday, May 8. This aircraft carrier and the "America" will remain in the Mediterranean Sea for an indefinite time in the event of a furture military action.

PRC OFFICIAL VISITS U.S. MILITARY TRAINING CENTER

LD072320 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1904 GMT 7 May 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] Yang Dezhi, the chief of General Staff of the PRC Armed Forces, is in the United States on a visit. He heads the most high-ranking Chinese military delegation to visit the United States. Yang Dezhi visited the training center for military specialist near New York and met Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. During talks, matters of military-technical cooperation between the United States and China were discussed. According to a report from the UPI television company [as heard] the Chinese representatives displayed particular interest in the purchase of torpedoes from the United States. Local observers recall that during President Reagan's recent talks with the foreign ministers of the ASEAN member-countries, the representatives of the states in Southeast Asia expressed their particular disquiet in connection with U.S. plans to sale arms to the PRC.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA

LD072027 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1228 GMT 7 May 86

["Against the Interests of the People" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 7 May (TASS) -- TASS Commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

The U.S. Senate has voted against arms sales to Saudi Arabia, sales amounting to $354 million. Washington has once again openly and frankly confirmed the basis of its Near Eastern policy -- unconditional support for the aggressive expansionist course being pursued by its strategic ally, Israel, to the detriment of the vital intersts and rights of the Arab peoples.

It is significant that it was a conservative Arab regime, in many ways oriented toward the United States, that was refused these arms. Earlier, the U.S. Administration refused to supply arms to Jordan, linking this issue to Amman's entering into separate and direct talks with the Israel aggressors under conditions in which the Arab lands would remain under occupation. Also noteworthy is that in the case of Saudi Arabia, the Senate's negative decision was motivated by the Arab solidarity shown by Riyadh toward Libya, a victim of U.S. aggression, and toward the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arabs.

Once again it has been confirmed that Washington, stopping at nothing -- be it blackmail or the crude pressure of force, including direct armed intervention -- is striving to split the Arab ranks, isolate the Arab countries one from another, and make them submit to their imperialist-Zionist diktat. A crushing blow has been dealt to the illusions of those "moderate" Arab circles who still endeavor to place their hopes on a "balanced" approach by the U.S. Administration to Near Eastern affairs and on the White House's "peacemaking" role.

Refusing armaments to the Arab countries, Washington at the same time grants unlimited military aid to the Israeli expansionists, and has linked Tel Aviv to the notorious "star wars" program.

The main U.S. efforts are basically aimed at ensuring Israel's unconditional military superiority over the Arab states.

Something else is also apparent: While showing itself "meticulous" in meeting the requests of the Arab states, Washington at the same time not only agrees to supply arms but it almost imposes them when it is a matter of delivering the next blow to national liberation movements, or overthrowing a progressive regime in some corner of the globe, a regime that is not to its linking and that does not wish to submit to its diktat. "Stinger" missiles have been supplied to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] terrorist group and to the Afghan cutthroats, cutthroats whose hands drip with the blood of civilians -- the blood of women, old men, and children.

Adopting the notorious doctrine of "neoglobalism," high-handedly declaring regions thousands of km from U.S. territory spheres of "vital interest," Washington squeezes the legitimate rights of independent sovereign states and their people, creates new and dangerous hotbeds of tension, and pushes matters toward further deterioration in the international area as a whole.

ARTICLE DEPLORES U.S. ANTITERRORISM BILL

PM061249 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[V. Gan article: "Demanding a 'Free Hand'"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Apr -- Proteges of extreme right-wing forces have submitted a bill to the Senate and the House of Representative that envisages investing the U.S. President with great powers in the use of U.S. Armed Forces abroad. It is proposed to consider the decision of the U.S. President that a certain state is encouraging "international terrorism" as formal and "sufficient" grounds for aggression. As is well known, the administration hangs the label "terrorist" on national liberation movements, progressive organizations, and entire countries and people not wishing to reconcile themselves to American diktat.

The bill according permits the implementation of "warning" and "punitive" strikes in response to "terrorist threats from abroad" and also again those who "plan or support such acts or carry them out." What is more, the President is permitted to give orders for the physical elemination of the head of any state.

But even this is not all. The initiators of the legislative proposal single out as the key point the President's being freed of any necessity to hold consultations with U.S. Congress before sending U.S. Armed Forces to participate in combat operations or to submit a report within 48 hours of the beginning such operations.

The reactionaries' new initiative is significant: It is aimed at giving the United States a legal right to total license, arbitrary rule, and brigandage.

CIA REPORTEDLY PLANTS BOMBS, BLAMES ANTI-U.S. REGIMES

LD080413 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 7 May 86

[Mikhail Glebov commentary]

[Excerpts] The information agency of Democratic Yemen has issued a report about the United States involvement in the bomb attacks on the La Belle discotheque in West Berlin on 5 April. Here's a commentary by Mikhail Glebov:

According to the information agency, the police investigation of the bomb attack has established that it involved American-made explosives and that the bomb was planted by an American serviceman who was a member of a drug trafficking syndicate. Minutes before the bomb went off, several members of that syndicate left the disco. According to the Aden information agency, the American CIA relies on drug dealers in its covert operations. The report sheds light on quite unexpected developments and it is confirmed by reports from the United States. A former ranking CIA officer, John Stockwell, specializing in the past in covert operations in Africa has said, commenting on the West Berlin attack, that in the past, the CIA had on many occasions planted bombs and blamed others for them. He said that CIA agents infiltrate public organizations at home and abroad to discredit them by implicating them in bomb attacks.

Reports from Central America speak of the same tactics. Such operations in Central America were aimed at justifying the actions of the United States Administration against the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua and covering up the true objective of these actions. That is, to restore the order that existed under Washington's stooge, Somoza. Since that objective appears to be so unseemly any pretext and means are used to cover it up.

It has transpired the United States covert operations against Libya actually began in 1972 when the CIA set up a special group for such operations. Nobody was talking at the time of alleged Libyan terrorists. Just as in the case of Nicaragua now, the White House was simply rubbed the wrong way by the revolution that kicked out a pro-American regime in Libya. The motive of the United States policy with respect to Libya is to eliminate the gains of the revolution and restore the old order. These motives are covered up with provocations and false pretexts. There are facts that show that the CIA has acted in that manner on many occasions.

REPORTAGE ON GDR DEFENSE MINISTER'S VISIT

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Report

PM061520 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 86 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Friendly Visit"]

[Text] Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, arrived 5 May on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

The GDR guest was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact joint Armed Forces; Army Gen. A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, and generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces. The welcoming party also included GDR Ambassador to the USSR E. Winkelmann and Major General H. Oldenburg, military attache at the GDR Embassy in the USSR.

At the airport the GDR and USSR state flags were flying, an honor guard was drawn up, and both countries' national anthems were played. Army Gen H. Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, received the report of the Commander of the honor guard and inspected the formation of Soviet servicemen.

A meeting took place on the same day between Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Poliburo and USSR defense minister, and Army Gen H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Polituboro and GDR minister of national defense. Questions of mutual interests were discussed in the course of the warm friendly conversation.

Taking part in the conversation were, on the Soviet side, Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army Gen A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and Army Gen Ye F. Ivanovskiy, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, and Army Gen V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister.

On the GDR side, Lieutenant General H. Bruenner, CDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the National People's Army Main Political Directorate; Colonel General J. Goldbach, GDR deputy minister of national defense, and GDR Ambassador to the USSR E. Winkelmann. Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov gave a dinner in honor of the GDR guest.

Army Gen H. Kessler visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid an wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unkown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall. The GDR guest was accompanied by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov. Col Gen V.M. Arkhipov, commander of the Moscow Military District, was present at the wreath-laying ceremonies.

Visits Air, Space Centers

LD061727 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1531 GMT 6 May 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, who is now visiting our country, visited the Air Force garrison at Kubinka today. He also visited Zvezdnyy gorodok, where he familiarized himself with the Gagarin Comsonaut Training Center. The GDR national defense minister was accompanied by Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, USSR first deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

Meets Pilots, Cosmonauts

LD062313 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1736 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (ADN) -- Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister and member of the politburo of the SED Central Committee, who is presently in the USSR, met Soviet airmen and cosmonauts Tuesday. Pilots demonstrated their mastery of ultramodern fighter aircraft and helicopters and the numerous deployment modes of the aircraft at the Kubinka Garrison of the USSR Air Force.

Army Gen Heinz Kessler was warmly welcomed by a group of Soviet cosmonauts in the Star City near Moscow. Accompanied by Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union and commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, and Aleksandr Yefimov, marshal of aviation and commander in chief of the Air Forces, the GDR military representatives toured the cosmonaut training center named after Yuriy Gagarin.

Lieutenant General Georgiy Beregovoy, head of the center, explained the full-size models of the Mir orbital complex and the Salyut space station in a training hall. The guests were briefed on the good working and living conditions for the cosmonauts on board these space vehicles.

In conversations with the guests, the cosmonauts referred to the comprehensive research program and the productive cooperation with the socialist countries, including scientists and enterprises in the GDR.

Army Gen Kessler honored the memory of the first person to venture into space with a bouquet of flowers, which he placed before the memorial to Yuriy Gagarin. The guests familiarized themselves with the Soviet space programs at the museum in the Star City, established 26 years ago. Army Gen Kessler expressed his gratitude for the warm hospitality and the fraternal atmosphere. Deep respect was accorded to all those involved in the space flights -- the scientists, construction workers, teachers, trainers, and above all the cosmonauts. The defense minister said that they had carried out great work for the political and moral standing of the Soviet Union, the power of socialism, and for peaceful research in space in the service of mankind.

Leaves for Trip Around Country

LD071159 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Army General Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and GDR minister of national defense, who is in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the USSR Defense Minister, today left Moscow for a trip around the country.

He was seen off at the airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Sokolov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minister; Army Gen Comrade Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and other officials.

Travels to Lvov

LD070907 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0842 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Moscow, 7 May (ADN) -- Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, who is in the USSR on an official friendship visit, ended his stay in Moscow yesterday and traveled to the regional capital of Lvov. He was bidden a cordial farewell at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Sokolov, USSR defense minister and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Army Gen Kessler is accompanied on his visit to the Western Ukraine by Marshal Viktor Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact member-states, and GDR Ambassador Dr Egon Winkelmann.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Profiles

PM061201 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 86 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "On the Visit to the Soviet Union of GDR National Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler"]

[Text] At the invitation of Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, will arrive in Moscow 5 May for an official friendly visit.

Army Gen G. Kessler was born 26 January 1920 to a worker's family. He began his working life as a motor mechanic. He played an active part in the struggle against fascism. Since 1943 he has been a member of the National Free Germany Committee.

In June 1945 Kessler joined the Communist Party of Germany. He has been a member of the SED since 1946. He held leadership posts in the Free German Youth Union. Beginning in 1950 he played an active part in the creation of the GDR National People's Army.

From 1956 through 1967 he was commander of the Air Force and Air Defense Forces; from 1967 through 1979 he was GDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the National People's Army Main Staff, and from 1979 through 1985 he was chief of the National People's Army Main Political Directorate. In December 1985 he was appointed GDR minister of national defense.

At the 11th SED Congress Comrade H. Kessler was elected member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. He is a deputy of the GDR People's Chamber. In 1984 he was awarded the title Hero of Labor. He has received many orders and medals. Army Gen H. Kessler has repeatedly visited the Soviet Union.

Servicement of the USSR Armed Forces, like all Soviet people, welcome GDR National Defense Minister Army Gen H. Kessler and express confidence that his visit will promote the further development and strengthening of the indissoluble fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between the peoples and Armies of the Soviet Union and the GDR.

IZVESTIYA REPORT ON ZIMYANIN POLISH VISIT

PM080836 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS reports under the general headline: "Soviet Parliamentarians' Visit"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Polish Sejm, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by M.V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission, left Moscow on 5 May for Warsaw on an official friendly visit.

At the airport in Warsaw the delegation was greeted by R. Malinowski, marshal of the Polish Sejm, and other officials. The welcoming party included V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland.

The Soviet delegation met with R. Malinowski, who told them about the main directions in the activity of the ninth Polish Sejm and about the work of the Presidium, deptuies' clubs, standing commissions, and other bodies of the Polish parliament. The marshal of the Polish Sejm stressed that the Polish public fully supports the USSR's large-scale foreign policy initiatives set out in CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January statement, in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report, which he delivered at the 27th CPSU Congress, and in his speech at the 11th SED Congress.

M.V. Zimyanin talked about progress in the implementation of 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the great organizational and political work being done by party bodies and soviets at all levels to mobilize the masses and accelerate the socioeconomic development of Soviet society. This work also solves questions pertaining to the everyday life of the population and to the satisfaction of people's needs and requirements.

The sides stressed that fraternal friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Poland, including relations in the parliamentary sphere, will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of the peoples of both countries and in the cause of peace and socialism. The conversation took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

On the same day the Soviet delegation laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the Soviet troop cemetery in Warsaw.

Warsaw, 6 May -- Today Z. Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, received the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission.

The sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of mutually advantageous Polish-Soviet ties in all spheres and at the implementation of the accords reached during the coordination of the Soviet and Polish state plans for 1986-1990. It was stressed that the implementation of the major long-term programs for production sharing and specialization and economic and scientific-technical cooperation will contribute to accelerating the growth rate of our countries' national economic potential. This will further consolidate the socialist community, strengthen its positions in the world, and fully reveal socialism's potential.

The Soviet delegation members quoted specific examples of successful cooperation between the USSR and Poland in shipbuilding, medicine, science, and other areas.

The delegation head said that the Soviet people are doing a great deal of constructive work to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. He noted the favorable opportunities for further developing Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Messner spoke of the preparations in Poland for the 10th PZPR Congress, which will consolidate positive development processes in all areas and outline the country's future progress along the path of socialist building. The historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the use of the Soviet friends' experience are of great significance for Polish Communists, he said.

Emphasis was placed on the great importance of the constructive new peace initiatives presented by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in terms of preserving peace and developing international relations in the interests of cooperation and security for all the peoples. The conversation took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.V. Zimyanin had talks here with the leadership and deputies of the Polish Sejm. Taking part in the talks from the Polish side were J. Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and R. Malinowski, marshal of the Polish Sejm.

During the conversation, emphasis was placed on the great importance of further deepening the ties between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Polish Sejm to solve urgent tasks of socialist building and to develop economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Poland. Mention was made of the ongoing development of Soviet-Polish relations in all spheres in recent years. The view was unanimously expressed that it is necessary to further deepen relations and raise them to a new level, using, in particular, the following specific forms: creation of joint associations and establishment of direct links between allied enterprises.

M.V. Zimyanin noted the great significance the Soviet Union attaches to the development of comprehensive relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation with Poland. The two countries' parliamentarians can also make a substantial contribution to developing Soviet-Polish cooperation in all areas and to the joint struggle for peace and detente in the international arena.

Having given a detailed account of the Soviet people's efforts to implement the majestic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet delegation head stressed that cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and the joint utilization of socialism's mighty potential, which widen the opportunities for the full utilization the achievements of scientific and technical progress, will be an important element in the implementation of its decisions.

R. Malinowski noted the great interest in Poland in the work and decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. This creative experience is being widely used in the course of the preparations in Poland for the 10th PZPR Congress. Pointing out that the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit is taking place on the eve of a common festival, Victory Over Facism Day, he indicated the great importance of the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, whose 41st anniversary was widely celebrated here recently. The treaty serves to strengthen Poland's border security, sovereignty, and independence.

On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership, M.V. Zimyanin invited a Polish Sejm delegation to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

A dinner was given in the Polish Sejm building in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation at the dinner, R. Malinowski and M.V. Zimyanin exchanged speeches.

Today the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation saw the sights in Warsaw. At the history museum in the Old Town the delegation was shown a movie about the Polish people's heroic labor to rebuild the capital, which was destroyed during the war by facist aggressors. The delegation also visited Zelazowa Wola, the site of the museum of the great Polish composer F. Chopin.

RYABOV WELCOMES MITTERRAND, CHIRAC ON STOPOVER

LD071312 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Novosibirsk May 7 TASS -- The president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand, and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac of France made a brief stopover in the city of Novosibirsk en route from Tokyo to Paris.

At the airport they were met by Yakov Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Vladimir Bokov, chairman of the Novosibirsk regional executive committee, other officials, and Charge d'Affaires of France in the U.S.S.R. Francis de Beauchateaud.

During the conversation the sides discussed Soviet-French relations. It was emphasized that the development of political dialogue between the two countries met the vital requirements of the existing international situation that was rather complicated, and aimed for finding ways to resolve the problems facing the international community.

The conversation passed in a business-like and frank atmosphere characteristic of Soviet-French relations.

Mitterrand Cables Gromyko

LD071319 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- President Francois Mitterrand of France addressed a telegram from aboard his plane to Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the Surpreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The telegram said:

"Once again flying over the territory of the Union of the Soviet Socialist republics en route to France, I am sending, Mr. President, sincere wishes of happiness to the Soviet people and express satisfaction that soon I will be staying in your country on a visit."

PRAVDA Cities Mitterrand Interview

PM061259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 86 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interview by F. Mitterrand"]

[Text] Tokyo, 28 Apr -- French President F. Mitterrand gave an interview to the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI in connection with the forthcoming meeting in Tokyo of the leaders of the seven major capitalist states. In this interview he touched, in particular, on the question of relations between East and West, and also on the state of Soviet-French relations and a number of other international problems.

France is in favor of improving relations between East and West, the president said in particular. "We have correct relations with the Soviet Union," he continued. While remaining a loyal and sympathetic member of the North Atlantic alliance, France, in his words, "also counts on preserving opportunities for peace and good accord with the Soviet Union."

Talking about the problem of reducing medium-range nuclear weapons, Mitterrand pointed out that he is "greatly interested in the latest proposals by the United States and the USSR, primarily the proposals of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev."

Regarding this, however, he confirmed France's well-known position, stressing that it does not yet consider it possible to participate in these negotiations.

The president recalled that France as a state is not taking part in the American "Strategic Defense Initiative." "It has not been proposed that we participate in determining the directions of either military or industrial strategy," he noted. "But I do not say that, if this were put to us, we would definitely consent to this."

In connection with President R. Reagan's critical remarks on Paris' refusal to permit aircraft from the U.S. Air Force to fly over French territory to strike at Libya, the head of the French state said: "President Reagan is within his rights to do what he finds necessary." Stressing French support of the struggle against terrorism, he said: "What we do not want is for our foreign policy and our diplomacy to cease to be independent. We do not want it to be so that, on the pretext of struggling against terrorism, France would be drawn into international operations that it could not freely consider beforehand."

FURTHER ON YELTSIN-LED CPSU DELEGATION'S VISIT TO FRG

Delegation Arrives in Bonn

LD072049 Moscow TASS in Russian 1520 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Bonn May 7 TASS -- The CPSU delegation headed by Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU Boris Yeltsin, that took part in the Eighth Congress of the German Communist Party, has arrived in Bonn.

The head of the CPSU Delegation Traveled to Duesseldorf where he had a meeting with Johannes Rau, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, and candidate of the Social Democratic Party for FRG chancellor in next year's elections.

They exchanged views on pressing political questions and on prospects of the development of relations between the USSR and the FRG. Johannes Rau acquainted Boris Yeltsin with the election platform of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Boris Yeltsin also had a meeting with the chairman of the Lower Saxony Land Organization of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Gerhard Schroeder.

In Bonn Boris Yeltsin had a meeting with State Secretary of the FRG Foreign Ministry Andreas Meyer-Landrut and discussed with him questions concerning the development of realtions between the USSR and the FRG.

The CPSU delegation also had a meeting with a group of leaders of the Green party. During the conversation Boris Yeltsin informed them of the measures taken by the Soviet Government to liquidate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station and emphatically repulsed the slanderous insinuations and anti-Soviet concoctions on this matter that are circulated in the West, including the FRG, and outlined the USSR firm position in respect of the invariability of the course of fulfilling the energy program worked out in our country.

B. Yeltsin was received by Philipp Jenninger, President of the Bundestag. In the course of their conversation, they discussed the initiatives of the USSR on reducing various types of armaments and on setting up of zones in Europe free of chemical weapons. They also discussed their attitudes toward SDI, questions of improving the flow of information, and technical cooperation.

Questions concerning the development of interparliamentary contacts between the two countries were also touched on.

The CPSU delegation had a meeting with the leaders of the FRG democratic organization "Peace List," which will be putting up candidates in next year's Bundestag elections. The "Peace List" leaders described the constant struggle of the antiwar forces against turning the territory of the FRG into a launching pad for U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles, the struggle for the withdrawal of the nuclear missiles already deployed against the participation of the FRG in implementing the ominous U.S. star wars program.

There were also a number of comradely meetings with the leadership of the German Communist Party and with heads of a delegation of fraternal communist and workers parties taking part in the German Communist Party congress. During these meetings, Yeltsin gave information on the Soviet people's implementation of the decisions of the historic 27th CPSU Congress and about the consistent struggle of the Soviet Union to free mankind from the threat of war, which is the object of the USSR's peaceful initiatives recently put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The visit of the CPSU delegation to the FRG aroused considerable interest both in the local and foreign media. B. Yeltsin gave many interviews to leading television stations, newspapers and magazines, as well as press agencies of the FRG, United States, Great Britain, and France in which he clarified topical issues concerning the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. He also gave information on the progress of removing the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, [Atomic Power Station] and condemned the attempts to distort the actual state of affairs at the station.

DIE ZEIT Interviews Yeltsin

DW071101 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 May 86 pp 5-6

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Moscow Party chief, by correspondent Christian Schmidt-Haeuer; date and place not given]

[Text] ZEIT: After your speech at the DKP Congress, the impression was created that dark clouds have again appeared over East-West relations. Your conclusion was: The more proposals the Soviet Union makes, the more stubbornly they will be rejected. You said that the Bonn government just reflects Washington's two faces. After recent developments do you see a real chance at all to develop a "common European house?"

Yeltsin: As to the assessment of the tense situation, I believe that assessment is shared by all. After the summit meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan, hopes were higher, more optimistic in the whole world than was realistic. We hope that a certain change will take place in Washington's policy. We believe that a real fundamental basis has been created to achieve concrete results that will be understandable for the people. In Vienna, for example, negotiations have been taking place for many years, and it is obvious that not everyone understands the technical details of the negotiations.

However, we have submitted a very clear and distinct program, which is understandable to all people: First, a gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons through the year 2000. Second, we propose, even now, to discontinue nuclear tests. We declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. We extended that moratorium once, then we extended it a second time.

Even now we are not in a hurry to resume testing, although 8 months have since elapsed. As you know, the weapons are getting old. So actually they ought to be tested -- and yet we are not in a hurry to resume testing.

Third: We have also submitted proposals for the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. However, to these three proposals we have not even gotten a "no" as an answer. Even the possibility of sitting down at the negotiating table is being ignored. Therefore, it would be wrong to speak of decreased tension or some sort of an improved situation now.

Naturally, I do not want to dramatize the situation by saying that there are clouds that cannot be penetrated. I believe that even greater efforts and an even greater zeal are necessary to sit down at the negotiating table and to agree. I would like to point out that it would be most important to abolish nuclear weapons. We have submitted that program in stages. We have said very clearly that it should be implemented as far as the Ural Mountains under international control. We formulated it that way for the first time, and for us it is a basic, serious problem. Yet, we said quite frankly and clearly: under international control as far as the Urals.

ZEIT: Many European government representatives approach the proposals of the Soviet Union most open-mindedly. However, they say that the Soviet negotiators in Geneva and Vienna are not offering explanatory details to Gorbahcev's proposals, and that they do not have answers to questions from Western negotiating partners.

Yeltsin: First, our basic approach to these problems has been outlined. We would like to hear a basically positive position, positive answers, from the West European governments and from the United States. In the case of positive reaction, further proposals are being worked out now and outlined. However, it would probably be advisable to work the concrete proposals out together and mutually. On the other hand, however, I can say that our representatives in the negotiations are not yet fully equipped with details -- because the details are being determined. You must understand: A basically new proposal is involved that must be worked out in detail. I believe that representatives of our commissions and correspondents have not yet been to some regions of the territory reaching to the Urals. If we now allow representatives of an international control commission to go there, we must very clearly stipulate that information is to be mutual, not a one-sided affair up to the Urals, but adequately extended, including to Western Europe. By the way, our representatives have begun to provide explanations. It is not true that they have completely rejected explaining anything -- although the explanations are not complete.

ZEIT: How do you want to win France over to the new conventional disarmament plans? What will become of the Vienna MBFR round, which has thus far been limited to the narrow central European troop reduction area without including "tactical aviation forces?" Is there supposed to be a new conference level?

Yeltsin: That problem has not yet been solved organizatinally as to where and in what forum -- should it be organized in Vienna or in some other place? However, the foundation is basically new. Tactical nuclear weapons are also involved. We envisaged including France also. It means initiating the process in all of Europe -- Europe without weapons, dismantling of conventional weaponry in all of Europe. However, so far we have nobody to sit down with at the table and negotiate.
So far, vague opinion has been forthcoming but without rejecting the proposal. It comes from France, and in a certain, nuclear way from England. The FRG also has not simply discarded the idea. However, we do not see a positive reaction either. Our proposal needs a concrete answer. If one agrees in principle to the idea, we can discuss the place, the principle, and so on. However, why should one side lay its cards on the table while the other does not?

ZEIT: At times rumors made the rounds that General Secretary Gorbachev might visit the Federal Republic before the end of the year...

Yeltsin: Well, the probability is very small, less than small. The issue is not being discussed in our country. I take part in discussions on such matters. Such rumors are also disseminated with a purpose.

ZEIT: The new CPSU party program defines "peaceful coexistence" as an absolute value and not as "a specific form of class struggle," as it had been called before. According to the party congress findings, "an antagonistic yet mutually dependent and multifariously integrated world" is taking shape. Suppose it were possible to clear away the smoke of the acute crises and catastrophes. Does the Soviet Union see an open horizon between the two systems?

Yeltsin: No doubt about it -- you can neither live nor work without hope -- politicians least of all. We are living with the hope that, given certain other conditions, a possibility will emerge of reaching a consensus, agreements, with other leading personages. Let me cite just one example: According to our program, and in keeping with the main guidelines of socioeconomic development, it is intended in our country in the next 15 years to create an economic potential that will correspond to the potential hitherto created in all the years of Soviet power.

If the arms race and the arms buildup are stepped up any further, it will be a heavy blow to implementing that program, because the program is difficult and complicated. We plan to increase labor productivity 2 and 1/2 times, the volume of industrial production is to be expanded 2 to 2 1/2 times. Gigantic investments, gigantic expenditures are required. What if, in addition, we have to compete in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons: After all, we cannot lag behind; you must appreciate that. By now plans have emerged to develop a European SDI program. The FRG and France intend to participate in it. In that case we are forced, of course, to engage institutes and experts of our own for the purpose of neutralizing that development.

We need trade with the United States, the FRG, France, and with other countries. We need progressive technologies for peaceful purposes. And we are prepared to do business under mutually advantageous terms and conditions. The volume of trade between the FRG and USSR is at a rather high level, amounting to R7 billion. It has, alas, practically been frozen at that level. Yet, we are prepared to do business.

The Western press more often than not disseminates the thesis that our program is unrealistic. Yet the results of the first 4 months of this year alone show that we have a faster pace of growth in industry than planned.

ZEIT: But structural improvements in the economic mechanism alone, as have now been initiated, will not suffice. Gorbachev stated in Togliatti the other day: "If we do not change our way of thinking and our psychology we will be unable to transform the economy and our social life along the lines of the party congress decisions."

Yeltsin: I can only reaffirm what Comrade Gorbachev has said, and I can make it even more comprehensible by the example of the Moscow party organization. Transformation is in progress, society has begun to move after the party congress. Yet, such transformation does not proceed smoothly.

But that is no contradiction. We need transformation of the economic mechanism. Work is progressing and is supposed to be wound up by 1987. Another key issue is social development, meaning enhancing the role of the human factor. But we must achieve a change in thinking to implement all that and to speed it up. That is particularly true of leading personnel at all levels. Occasionally the worker class more readily comprehends the transformation and acceleration. Many managers wish to keep living and sitting in their upholstered chairs comfortably. Yet what is needed is an acceleration in thinking.

ZEIT: Lenin referred to the "Oblomov Republic"...

Yeltsin: An oblomov would not survive under these conditions. Implementing this task is part of the work of the party organization in particular. We teach people, guide them, explain the decisions of the party congress, indicate the direction in which the transformation is to proceed. The demand on our cadres is great, the levels of requirements considerable. Some of them go along with the change, others wait and see. Nor can we rule out the possibility that a specific segment of them offer internal resistance.

We will observe the situation for some time -- he who continues to ignore the changes will be replaced. It is taking place already; not very massively, but continuously. Indifferent ones, who do not quite cooperate with the change, will be replaced by young experts dynamically able to achieve the necessary acceleration. It is much more difficult to change a person than a machine. I will say it frankly: With time one becomes accustomed to a conservative, predictable quite life. It is important to leave it and to break new ground.

ZEIT: You pointed out at the party congress in a particularly strong way that not only the ministries and the planning commission should be changed, but also the structure of the party -- the apparatus and the Central Committee departments.

Yeltsin: I want to emphasize that opinion. Initial steps have been taken in that direction. In the Central Committee two big departments have been dissolved...

ZEIT: Which ones?

Yeltsin: The Agricultural Machine Construction Department and the International Information Department, headed by Zamyatin. The Moscow party committee apparatus has been reduced by 10 percent, and a number of departments have been dissolved. Administrative apparatuses have been steamlined, such as the building authority, with a cut of 3,000 people, and the railroad administrations, with a cut of also 3,000 people. Some things have already become reality.

Delegation Departs Bonn

LD081027 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 8 May 86

[Text] The CPSU delegation headed by Comrade Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom, departed from Bonn today. It was taking part in the work of the Eighth Congress of the German Communist Party that took place in Hamburg.

MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES AFTERMATH OF U.S. RAID

LD080244 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 May 86

[Report by L. Rassadin, correspondent in Tripoli; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Libyan capital: "The World as Seen by President Reagan." These words are written on posters being hung up everywhere in Libya these days. [video shows close-up of a poster with photos of babies and hospital scenes, close-up of individual photos of victims on stretchers] These are the victims of the barbaric U.S. bombings of Tripoli and Banghazi in April 1986.

The President of the United States asserts that he has declared war on terrorists. Who does he have in mind? Perhaps these children, women, and old men from the severely damaged densley populated district of Bin'ashur in Tripoli, or perhaps the family of the leader of the Libyan revolution? As a result of the piratical raid on the home of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi his 15-month-old daughter Hannab died. [viedo shows close-up of picture of Al-Qadhdhafi, then of a little girl].

[Video shows area next to the sea, several men in the vicinity, showing partially bombed out area above a road parallel with the coast; more shots of ruined buildings and groups of men, truck moving off]

Whom in Libya did the U.S. aircraft rain down their bombs on? We visited the region of Sidi Bilal, near Tripoli, on the Mediterranean coast. U.S. plans swooped down here on the school for training specialists of the junior technical staff of the Libyan Fleet. What sort of naval base is this, as is maintained in Washington. Cadets between 15 and 16 years old study here. The dining hall and dormatory have been completely removed from the face of the earth. Because of the extremely alarming situation which developed at that time, the boys were taken away to another region on the eve of the bombings, otherwise there would also have been hundreds of killed and wounded in Sidi Bilal. [video shows more shots of bombed area of Sidi Bilal, men in uniform and men taking notes]

The Washington administration is again threatening Libya. An armada of U.S. warships has again gathered in the Mediterranean Sea, among which now there is also the atomic aircraft carrier Enterprise.

It is difficult to even imagine the scale of the catastrophe should another armed conflict be provoked. The United States, for whom the anti-imperialist course of the independent Libyan Jamahiriyah clearly goes against the grain, is pursuing any crime against mankind.

PRAVDA Describes Scene

PM061414 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Filatov dispatch: "Everyday Life in the Jamahiriyah"]

[Text] Tripoli, 2 May -- To the west of Tripoli the remains of the city of Sabratah have been preserved since ancient times. Libyans, foreign guests, and the many foreign workers and specialists who have come from all over the world to work in the Libyan Jamahiriyah make frequent trips there to admire the majestic monuments of the distant past.

The ancient Roman amphitheaters and temples and the other ruins of Sabratah are a priceless historical asset. But ruins of a new kind have appeared in modern Libya. In Tripoli and Banghazi there are ruined apartment blocks. They are the result of the U.S. air raid there...

Near the center of Tripoli, known to local inhabitants as the "city of parks" on account of its abundance of greenery, is a modern five-story building whose architectural forms incorporate elements of the traditional Arab style. This is the historical research center of the Al-Fatah University.

"The U.S. aggression against our country," Habib el-Nasiya, the center's deputy director, said, "is nothing other than a continuation of the old colonial policy. The United States still cannot forgive us for the fact that it lost its strategic bases in Libya." In the fifties and sixties Libya was one of the world's poorest countries. The state was ruled by the anti-people regime of King Idris, which relied on Western states -- Britain, France, and the United States -- which stepped up their influence here after the defeat of fascist Italy in World War II. Considerable oil reserves were discovered in the late fifties. The Idris regime handed the oil-extracting industry over to foreign monopolies. The bulk of the population did not receive the slightest benefit from the extraction of oil, from which foreign capital made a fortune.

The situation in the country changed after the overthrow of the monarchy resulting from the action of a group of revolutionary young officers headed by M. al-Qadhdhafi on 1 September 1969. The new authorities removed the foreign military bases and placed the country's oil wealth under state control.

As the press here notes, oil and petroleum products make up 99 percent of Libya's exports. But recently the country has begun paying considerable attention to developing other sectors of the economy. For example, out of the total capital investments of $62.5 billion for fulfilling the 1981-1985 5-Year Plan, a large part was allocated to developing agriculture and constructing industrial and other enterprises not related to the oil sector of the economy.

The target that has been set is to fully satisfy the need for grain and other agricultural products by the end of this century. That is why large capital investments are being made in the agrarian sector and work is being done to open up new areas of land. The main problem is to find the water necessary for agricultural development. A considerable part of the country is desert but even in its eastern regions geologists have discovered large quantities of underground water.

In its attempts to undermine the Libyan economy the United States has repeatedly resorted to various "sanctions." Now it is trying to involve its West European partners in them in an attempt to create an economic blockage around the Libyan Jamahiriyah. That is why economic ties with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, are of ever-increasing significance for Libya. As people here believe, the development of trade between our countries should give a fillip to Libyan economic sectors not connected with the oil industry...

It was not until late evening that I managed to track down Khalif Manfuz, deputy editor of (AL-FADKHR AL-DZHADID), when work on the latest edition of the paper was in full swing. His office seemed to be entirely filled with newspapers. They were on the tables, shelves, the television set, even on the visitors' chairs.

"This is not just the local press but newspapers from various Arab countries," the office chief explained. "We try to keep abreast of the news. But you yourself will understand that there is not enough time for reading now. Our main theme is to expose U.S. imperialism's intrigues against Libya and report on the international solidarity with the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

This solidarity is manifested in different ways including by the mass media. We know that the Soviet press supports us very much." I remember the stones of ancient Sabratah and the fragments from the U.S. bombs that fell on Tripoli. The stones call to mind mankind's great history; the bomb fragments recall Washington's barbaric banditry.

LIBYAN TELEVISION SHOWS U.S. PILOT'S BODY

LD071528 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Tripoli May 7 TASS -- The Libyan television showed in the evening news program the remains of a U.S. pilot found on the coast near the city of Zavia. The U.S. warplane was brought down during the U.S. air raid of Libya.

PRAVDA REPORTS END OF ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING

PM070848 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 86 First Edition p 5

[PRAVDA/TASS report under the general headline "Marked 'Urgent'": "Consultations Necessary"]

[Text] Fes (Morocco) -- A conference of Arab states' foreign ministers has ended here. Its participants adopted a decision to hold further consultations to draw up a draft agenda for an extraordinary conference of Arab League Members' heads of state and governments.

As is well known, the pan-Arab summit is planned at Libya's request to discuss the U.S. military's banditlike attack against that sovereign Arab country. Speaking in Fes, C. Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, stressed that America's barbarous aggression against Libya represents a serious threat to peace and security in the Mediterranean region and throughout the world.

ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI TO VISIT MID-MAY

LD071834 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- The secretary general of the League of Arab States Chedli Klibi is to pay a working visit to the Soviet Union in the middle of May at the Soviet Government's invitation.

INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS INSPECT AL-BARUK AREA IN LEBANON

NC061957 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1945 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] According to reports from diplomatic sources, three Soviet intelligence officers, accompanied by their Syrian counterpart, entered the Al-Baruk area to examine the region from a military and strategic point of view.

U.S. ALLOWS ISRAEL TO OBTAIN NUCLEAR ARMS MATERIALS

WA070900 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28, 29, 30 Mar 86

[Article by Vladimir Mikhaylov: "Hunt for the Bomb"; first four paragraphs are 28 March SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] In December 1957, a plant in Apollo (Pennsylvania, United States) obtained a federal permit to reprocess nuclear material and became the sole private enterprise specializing in the production of fuel for nuclear-powered submarines of the U.S. Navy. Ten years later, it was discovered that 259.5 kilos of enriched uranium had disappeared from the enterprise in this time.

...On 18 November 1968, the ("Sheyersberg"), which had been carrying 200 tons of uranium, disappeared without trace on the high seas. A week later it suddenly docked in the Turkish port of Iskenderun. It was empty.

...In November 1974, Karen Silkwood, a laboratory technician at a plutonium-enrichment plant near Oklahoma City (Oklahoma, United States), discovered the puzzling disappearance from the enterprise of radioactive material. In accordance with a union assignment, the activist began her investigation. Setting out for a meeting with an official union representative and a reporter from THE NEW YORK TIMES, she had not driven 10 miles before her car lost control. Silkwood died.

These three incidents, which occurred at different times in different places, were for many years not connected. It only recently became known that they were all the work of agents of the Israeli special service Mossad, which had received from the country's leadership the assignment of securing, by any means, the quantity of radioactive material necessary to produce nuclear weapons.

I. The Zalman Shapiro Stunt

In their relations with neighboring Arab states, Israeli politicians and the Zionist military have always gambled on weapons. The "negotiations" and "good-neighborly relations" concepts do not exist for them: a continuous chain of provocations and aggression has been the essence of the entire policy of the Zionist state since the time of its formation.

The Zionists long since concluded that the creation of nuclear weapons could be the "ideal solution" of the Arab question. Israel met with the complete understanding and support of certain circles of a number of Western states. Plans, equipment, technology, raw material -- everything necessary for the creation of nuclear weapons -- were acquired by various means and methods by the Zionist military and the scientists working for it. Naturally, these supplies were effected under conditions of the strictest secrecy, for which purpose the Mossad special service was equipped. It was instructed to consider work on the creation of an atomic bomb the top assignment and to spare no forces and resources for its accomplishment, stopping at nothing.

In 1958, an installation outwardly resembling a soccer ball appeared in the Negev desert, close to the small town in Dimona. This was a nuclear reactor, although the Israeli Government repeatedly attempted to persuade the public that it was merely a "textile factory". However, this "factory" was guarded far more strictly than many important military facilities.

The territory surrounding Dimona for a radius of dozens of kilometers is encircled by a tight chain of guard posts with an abundance of both the most intricate electronics and specially trained guard dogs. All the airspace above this locale has been

declared a prohibited zone. An incident is indicative: during a training flight an Israeli Mirage went off course and accidentally ended up in the Dimona area. There was no questioning whatsoever: the aircraft was shot down at once, and the pilot, who had managed to eject, was shot in the air.

Mossad embarked on fulfillment of its assignment even prior to the start of construction of the reactor. It was at that time that the license for the plant in Apollo was obtained. The request for it had been made at the initiative of Zalman Shapiro, president of the NUMEC Corporation. A well-known chemist and former employee of the U.S. research service and student of the notorious Admiral Rickover -- the founder of nuclear submarines -- Shapiro was a convinced Zionist, so Mossad knew to whom to turn. His name was well known in Tel Aviv as the president of NUMEC and had quite often performed the role of agent of the Israeli Defense Ministry.

Uranium began to be found missing from the plant almost immediately following the start of its work for the U.S. Navy. In October 1960, even an employee of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission -- the body that in the United States monitors the nuclear industry -- sent Zalman Shapiro a letter in which he expressed concern in connection with the insufficiently strict supervision of radioactive material. The message said that the commission's inspectors had received information about a loss of enriched uranium from the plant.

In the summer of 1964, a commission inspection again turned up serious violations in accountability at the enterprise. The gaps in the inventories were so glaring that one of the inspectors sounded the alarm. He sent the leadership of the commission a telegram proposing urgent notification of the FRI about the regular losses of uranium. But the plant continued to operate tranquilly.

Finally, in the spring of 1965, the commission carried out a new thorough inventory. Its inspectors checked each figure in the accounts and questioned the consignees of products from the plant in Apollo. As a result, the disappearance of 80 kg of enriched uranium was discovered. We would note for comparison that just under 10 kilos of this substance is sufficient for the creation of a low-yield atom bomb.

Shapiro was finally taken in custody. He was questioned by officials of the commission and "confessed" that the missing material had mistakenly been "buried" in radioactive waste storage pits. The commission demanded that this waste be recovered immediately for analysis. But on a variety of pretexts, Shapiro evaded compliance with this demand for 6 months.

On 25 September 1965, five high-ranking officials of the commission presented to Shapiro an official ultimatum: If he did not comply with their demands immediately, all the material on the president of NUMEC, the corporation itself and the management of the plant in Apollo, would be handed over to the FBI and federal judicial authorities. Shapiro was forced to give his employees the appropriate instructions.

Work on the recovery of the waste and the analyses were completed only by the year's end. But sensing that his stunt was coming to an end and driven by the impatient demands of Israeli physicists, the president of NUMEC did his utmost. As a result, only 7.25 kg of uranium were discovered in the waste, but as of 31 December 1965, some 173.3 kg had "disappeared" from the plant.

The commission investigation was headed by one of its executives -- James Lovett. He prepared a voluminous report, whose facts and conclusions, according to Lovett's colleagues, automatically entailed the prosecution of Zalman Shapiro and his sentencing to a lengthy prison term.

But... the report was suddenly killed. Lovett himself declared that upon a closer familiarization with the facts he was unable to find confirmation that the uranium had been stolen. In his assertion, Shapiro had provided a perfectly satisfactory explanation for the disappearance of the radioactive materials. There is an interesting fact shedding light on the change in Lovett's position: Some time later he quit the commission and took up not so much a responsible as highly lucrative position in NUMEC.

However, the scandal was heating up. The FBI and the Justice Department had taken an interest in the case. The wheels of the machinery of the law had begun to turn, it seemed. Alas, this only seemed to be the case inasmuch as "mysterious forces" intervened in the course of the investigation, and 9 days later the investigation ended. Whose intervention was this? Answering this question credibly is difficult, but it would not, I believe, be without interest to acquaint ourselves with two versions of what happened.

In the mid-sixties, the CIA's technical service determined the existence in Israel of a laboratory working with a substantial quantity of enriched uranium. It was at approximately that time that the CIA's attention was attracted to regular exercises of Israeli jet aircraft. According to Carl Duckett, who was at that time CIA deputy director for science and technology, these specific maneuvers should make sense "only if they were practicing methods of dropping an atom bomb."

At the same time another CIA subdivision was analyzing the nuclear potentials of certain countries, including Israel. It also drew attention to the report on the nuclear laboratory. From where had the Zionist leadership, which lacked the complex and costly equipment for obtaining highly enriched uranium, been able to acquire a considerable quantity of this material?

Independently both CIA subdivisions came to the conclusion that the NUMEC Corporation was involved. They drew attention to Shapiro's frequent trips to Tel Aviv and the fact that since the start of the 1960's, the stream of Israeli visitors to the plant in Apollo had been exceptionally great. The Israeli scientist Baruch Sinai and Ephraim Lahav, science attache at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, had gone there particularly often. Furthermore, Baruch Sinai had even been given temporary employment in NUMEC.

A tail was put on Shapiro in the United States and Israel. As a result, the CIA drew the firm conclusion that Israel was obtaining radioactive material via NUMEC. It prepared a secret report, which, naturally, immediately came to the desk of Richard Helms, then director of the American espionage department. The latter headed for the White House and demanded a personal meeting with President Lyndon Johnson.

At the end of the audience, Helms summoned his closest associates, including Carl Duckett. According to the latter, the CIA director reported that the President was emphatically opposed to any publicity of this affair and demanded that NUMEC not be impeded in its work. Johnson's wishes were carried out.

There is also another version of how Helms' conversation with Johnson went. NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Tad Szulc, who was unanimously considered a major authority on questions connected with the CIA, conducted an independent investigation. He met and talked with a number of former agency officers who at that time held high positions and drew interesting conclusions. According to him, the U.S. President, who had received the CIA report the day before, had summoned Helms, intending to firmly demand that the material be handed over to the FBI and the judicial authorities and that it be examined in the U.S. Supreme Court. The President also intended on delivering to Israel an emphatic protest against the piratical operations of its special services.

However, the CIA director persuaded the President of the need to put a stop to this affair ("proceeding from the United States' highest interests") and afford Israel the opportunity to avail itself of U.S. uranium in the future also. Helms assured Johnson that all Tel Aviv's work in the nuclear domain would be monitored by American intelligence and that the CIA would watch to ensure that it not be of a military nature.

...In 1967, when the quantity of stolen uranium consisted 259.5 kg, Mossad resolved to close off this channel, in connection with which there had already been too much talk. With the help of the patrons of the Zionists it was possible to put a stop to the business without particular noise. Shapiro paid a fine for the "missing" uranium of the order of $1.1 million (not from his own pocket, naturally), sold the plant in Apollo, and moved to another corporation. There he continued to carry out Mossad assignments, recruiting scientists for work on technical projects of interest to Tel Aviv. However, the FBI's repeated attempts to begin his prosecution were frustrated due to interference by the White House staff.

II. Operation 'Lead'

In the summer of 1967, despite the euphoria induced by the outcome of the "six-day war" which had gripped the Zionists, the Israeli leadership, particularly the military, were experiencing a serious concern. They had not succeeded in achieving their goal of creating a "greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates" owing to the resolute position of the socialist community countries. Tel Aviv found itself in even greater international isolation. The question of uranium arose with new poignancy. And the Zionists resolved to switch to robbery in the full sense of this word.

Now, Robbery

On a hot August day in 1967, 14 persons -- the "surest of the sure" -- had gathered for a top-secret meeting. They were all of like mind and for this reason did not speak with reticence. But the person expressing himself the most candidly, perhaps, was then Defense Minister Moshe Dayan.

"We have conducted a brilliant operation," he began. "But for reasons known to you we have not been able to solve the Arab question conclusively. If we had had the Bomb, these 6 days would have been perfectly sufficient for us, and a stunned world, confronted with the fact, would have reconciled itself to what had occurred. But we do not have it yet. It is not my business to judge the actual contribution to the common cause of the valiant Mossad officers," he looked steadily at Meir Amit, head of the espionage department, "but, I believe, they were somewhat in haste in winding up the NUMEC operation. In a word, I propose entrusting the organization, which has shown its worth so brilliantly in all previous matters, with the procurement of new consignments of enriched uranium. How they handle this, I believe, is up to them. Stealing or taking by force -- the details do not interest us."

The general took his seat. Some of those present nodded in agreement, some were plunged in thought, some looked searchingly at Meir Amit. But it would have been futile to seek in the faces of the statesmen an expression of embarrassment or shame, surprise or disgust. All of them, profoundly convinced that they were honest and decent people, accepted Dayan's proposal concerning theft or robbery as nothing shameful.

The first action carried out by the Zionist saboteurs had been planned simply and without embellishment, recalling scenes from a Hollywood hit movie. Gangsters in cars blocked a 25-ton truck transporting uranium that belonged to the French Government. Having killed the guard, they drove the vehicle away, put the pursuers off the scent and in a secluded spot transferred the containers with the radioactive material to

their transport. With forged papers, changing car license plates and small private aircraft, the group of Mossad agents delivered the uranium to a secret military base in the Negev Desert 2,000 miles from where it was stolen.

The group leader reported briefly to Meir Amit on the accomplishment of the first operation: "Freight taken. No losses." The chief of the special service reported back to the country's top leadership the same words. No mention was made of the dead Frenchmen -- what significance could their lives have for the representatives of "God's chosen people"?!

The first success inspired the gansters from the big journey, who were blessed by Tel Aviv officials for their "exploits". Zionist agents scoured Europe, shadowing, bribing, and recruiting informers connected with shipments of radioactive materials. Attacks on several "targets" had to be abandoned merely because the amount of the substance being transported was too insignificant. A further four-five operations were frustrated owing to sudden changes of route. Tel Aviv once again became nervous.

Finally, the terrorists got lucky, it seemed. The journey of a truck carrying uranium to Britain was reconnoitered, and the freight was big enough to merit the risk involved. Several persons connected with the shipments were bribed.

The operation went exactly as planned. A consignment of containers stamped "highly enriched uranium" arrived in the Negev Desert. But hereupon cruel disappointment awaited the Israelis. When their scientists surveyed the contents of the containers, they discovered that they held only uranium oxide. And inasmuch as the method of its enrichment was not at that time common practice in Israel, the entire dangerous and costly operation had, it transpired, been for nought.

Meir Amit was furious. His vaunted agents had been deceived like little boys. The specialists were urgently demanding uranium, and there was none. The entire blame for this lay with Mossad. In headquarters, analysts were drawing up a plan in accordance with which it would be possible to obtain a large consignment of nuclear materials at once. Meir Amit was assured that he could count on practically unlimited assistance on the part of both the military and the diplomats. The main issue was the rapidity and quantity.

The idea in general outline soon presented itself: This time the victim was to be a large merchant ship transporting uranium that was to be taken to an Israeli port. The "go-ahead" for this unprecedented act of international piracy was given by the prime minister of the Zionist state personally. The Mossad terrorists were given a conclusively free hand.

The 'Team' Is Assembled

The detailed elaboration and performance of the operation, which was codenamed "Lead," was entrusted to Mike Binder, leader of the "Special Operations" Department. He personally chose the future performers.

Meir (Azulay) had served at sea in the past and carried out Mossad assignments. He got to know people quickly, had an excellent memory, and was a past master at handling explosives.

(Shauli) Mizraki, an officer of the "Arab Department," had "worked" repeatedly along spy department lines in Near East countries. He had a brilliant knowledge of several Arabic dialects and could, if necessary, pass for an Iraqi, Syrian, Libyan or Egyptian.

Siv Biran was on board an Israeli merchant ship far from his home shores. He was sent a telegram requesting that he come to Tel Aviv as quickly as possible and wait. He had an excellent knowledge of seafaring, and in the impending operation hopes were placed in him as an experienced captain.

(Reyven) Goldman had taken part in dozens of terrorist actions of the Zionist special services since the 1940's. He had so much rich experience that he could have outdone the chief himself.

"Communications expert No 1" -- this was what Benny Arnheim was called in Mossad headquarters. It was claimed that he could assemble a radio transmitter from an ordinary matchbox and hairpin in 5 minutes.

And, finally, the sixth -- the unprepossessing, puny-looking Gad Ullman was a very high-ranking and well-paid official in the civil service. But he was also the most fearsome person of the group chosen by Binder. None other than the Mossad leadership knew that he also had a second "profession" -- assassin. When he was offered a "job," Ullman's face lit up with a happy smile.

Having completed the selection of the performers, Mike Binder left for Brussels. A squalid little house in a suburb of the Belgian capital was the location of a secret address of Israeli intelligence, where Binder met an attractive young woman of the name of Sharon Manners -- his agent. Binder began the conversation without any preliminaries:

"Consider, this job is possibly the most important of those in which you have participated. Your assignment includes close acquaintance with a person with an important position in Euratom with access to information concerning the shipment of nuclear materials. Here is a file on three of them."

Manners quickly glanced through the papers and photographs and put one folder aside: the Italian Antonio Bordini, assistant director for supply control.

...It was a dull day in the Belgian capital. Bordini, as always, drove to work in his brand-new Alfa Romeo. Leaving the car in the parking lot, he entered the Euratom building and went up to his office. A few minutes later a red Renault drove into the parking lot; behind the wheel was Sharon Manners. She drove up to Bordini's car, turned around and put the Renault sharply in reverse. There was a crunch of metal.

The guard, who until then had been dozing in his glass booth, ran up. Manners did not deny her blame and stated, showing the guard her papers, that she was prepared to make good the damage. While he was calling the owner of the damaged car, Sharon drove off, leaving with the "janitor" of the Alfa Romeo an apology note with her telephone number.

Bordini called the next day. A meeting ensued, then another. The Euratom official was charmed by his new acquaintance. A few days later he made the acquaintance of Manners' old and good friend -- "Paul" -- Mike Binder. A large sum and Bordini's pro-Zionist sentiments served as sufficiently serious "arguments" for his recruitment. Part one of operation "Lead" was completed successfully.

As of that time, Sharon regularly handed over to Antonio envelopes containing money, obtaining in exchange packets containing papers, extracts and photocopies and xeroxed copies of letters, telegrams and official communications. But Mike Binder had not yet found what was necessary for carrying out the plan.

About 6 weeks of tense waiting later, Mike felt, glancing through the latest folder of copies made of documents stamped "top secret," the excitement of a hunter who has run to earth a wild animal. The papers mentioned the West German Asmara firm, which had signed a contract with the Societe generale de (minre) for the purchase of a large consignment of uranium.

Binder was attracted to this deal particularly because a co-owner of Asmara was a certain Herbert (Shultsen). In the past "friends" from the CIA had recommended (Shultsen) to Mossad as a "reliable" person who could prove useful in matters of a delicate nature. Despite the fact that (Shultsen) had been a convinced fascist and had served in Nazi Germany's Luftwaffe in the war, the Zionist services had put him on the card index and even given him the nickname "Nazi pilot".

An agreement was rapidly reached with (Shultsen). The final details of the plan were specified, circumstances enabling Asmara in the event of a scandal to emerge therefrom with the minimum moral losses were thought up and material compensation was stipulated.

The operation was organized on Asmara purchasing 200 tons of uranium in Belgium and dispatching it on the ("Sheyersberg"), which had been charted by (Shultsen), to Milan for enrichment and Mossad intercepting the ship with the cargo.

...A small ad concerning the sale of an auto-repair workshop carried in an Antwerp newspaper was dwarfed among the dozens of like ones. Therefore, its owner, Emile Golder, was pleasantly surprised when a buyer came to see him. Paul, as he called himself, only gave the workshop, garage and yard a cursory inspection and did not haggle. But just a few hours later, the attentive observer could have spotted entering the workshop gate a truck with a trailer carrying a 6-meter-long container carefully covered by a tarpaulin. Then a gray Peugeot stopped not far off out of which stepped two persons who plunged through the gate of the workshop. About 15 minutes later, a man and woman emerged from a Citroen which had driven up and headed in the same direction as their predecessors.

The "team" of Israeli terrorists had assembled: Mike Binder, Sharon Manners and four of the six.

The Raiders Had Competition

Meir (Azulay) and (Shauli) Mizraki were in Marseille. There they had to get on board the ("Sheyersberg") with forged papers, reach Antwerp, where loaded in a container onto the ship would be their "colleagues," then free them on the open seas and seize the ship. However, the operation had somehow become known to the mafia, which had decided to take possession of the precious cargo itself, possibly for resale to Israel, but perhaps having obtained an order from someone else. One way or another, both saboteurs were intercepted, and their mutilated bodies were subsequently found on a Marseille garbage dump, while the competitors went on board the ("Sheyersberg") on their papers.

A few days later, final preparations were under way in Antwerp for loading the containers with uranium onto the ("Sheyersberg"), which had arrived the day before. The moorage was brightly illuminated by searchlights, in the light of which sparkled the buttons of the port police officials surrounding the loading area. Numerous officials of Euratom's security service had taken their positions, watching to see that no container left the confines of the port.

In the former auto-repair workshop all the preparations for the gangster action were complete. The container extricated from beneath the tarpaulin had been painted red and had all the Euratom markings. But inside it had been converted into a temporary

"abode" of four saboteurs. Food, water, juice and even a small supply of whisky were to make their stay in the metal box if not pleasant, not too agonizing. Every conceivable kind of instrument, guns, tear gas grenades, and radio equipment had been packed into special compartments.

Everything was ready for the start of the operation, and while awaiting the signal each amused himself in his own way. Goldman played dice with himself. Manners polished her nails. Biran dozed, slumped in an armchair. Only Arnheim, perhaps, was busy. He was checking the communications equipment one more time, "sending" the receiver over various bands.

III. Shadow of the Nuclear Threat

Suddenly, Arnheim pricked up his ears. Picking up some instrument, he switched it on, peered anxiously at the dancing pointers and headed for the truck. He surveyed it rapidly, then turned his instrument toward the Citroen standing alongside, opened the doors and began probing the seats. Beneath the rear seat he discovered a small box, tore off its lid, turned something and said:

"A transmitter. Soneone has been listening to our conversations and has followed Mike's movements in the Citroen. We have been tracked down."

Mike recovered his wits faster than the others. He quietly issued a few orders and put out the light, leaving only a small lamp burning in the workshop.

"Guests" were not long in coming. There were six of them also. The silent clash in the dark lasted a matter of seconds. The dull thud of shots from silencers, dim flashes, death rattles -- this was all that told of what had happened. Seven corpses lay on the battlefield: All six attackers were killed, and the Mossad liaison, who had arrived at the height of the skirmish, was dead from a stray bullet.

...The truck bearing the Euratom emblem and the appropriate kind of container aroused no suspicions. No one had the slightest inkling of what the "foundling" could prove to be.

The next truck drove up. Its driver and Mike Binder, who had jumped down from the cab, neatly hitched up its ropes. A few minutes later the "Trojan horse" was in the holds of the ("Sheyersberg").

Robbery at Sea

On 17 November 1968, at 0548 hours, the ship was given authorization to sail. At 0600 hours, the ("Sheyersberg") cast off its moorings, giving the port a farewell blow on the horn.

All was as yet going smoothly. But experience of terrorist activity suggested to Binder that surprises are usually unpleasant and occur when they are least expected. He decided to take additional precautionary steps that had been discussed in advance.

Calling at the Israeli Embassy, Mike presented his credentials and demanded to be connected with the commander of the Israeli Navy. He uttered over the embassy radio the coded phrase in accordance with which the latter opened a secret package bearing the prime minister's seal. Having read the instructions contained therein, the old sea dog drew in his breath in amazement and admiration and thereupon issued the necessary orders. The Israeli Navy was put in a state of combat readiness in order following receipt of the signal to suddenly attack a peaceful ship on the high seas, destroy with aimed fire the radio mast to prevent the possibility of an SOS being given out and then, threatening the use of guns, seize the cargo.

This was a plan of an unprecedented brazen piratical attack and an act of international terrorism. But this did not disturb in this least a state which had adopted it in its foreign and domestic policy. And the fact that the attack did not take place was simply a matter of chance. The four Israeli saboteurs succeeded in "doing the job".

The day following departure, at 0010, the terrorists heard above them cautious steps and hushed voices, which would approach and then move away. Someone was carefully investigating the hold. Who? Their friends? But, first, their release had been planned only for the following night and, second, their accomplices were to have given a prearranged radio signal, but Benny Arnheim had heard nothing, even though he had been constantly listening to two frequencies.

In the daytime, when all was quiet, they held a meeting and decided not to risk getting out of the container with their own powers. They cut a hole with an autogenous welder and prepared themselves. In the evening the hatch cover was opened again. Two figures, clearly visible against the bright background, appeared. Gad Ullman could wait no longer: with a sensual smile he directed at the strangers the barrel of his Magnum with the silencer attachment and opened fire. Yes, these were the instants of his greatest delight -- the moment of murder.

The four armed gangsters, who attacked suddenly, had no particular difficulty in seizing the peaceful ship, for which this trip was only a normal voyage. Submitting to the order, the ("Sheversberg") put up in the small bay of an uninhabited island, where with the help of window dressing and paint it was converted into the "Kerkyra" with a different configuration and coloring.

Under the Liberian flag, the "Kerkyra" entered the Israeli port of Haifa late in the evening. It was expected, and it was urgently led off into a secluded dock, around which a reinforced guard was immediately posted. And the following night the former ("Sheversberg") left Haifa with lights extinguished and headed for the Turkish port of Iskenderun. It arrived there a day later. Having undergone the customs formalities, the team, at full strength, left the ship, whose hulls were empty, and went into the city.

Who Killed Karen Silkwood?

The American Karen Silkwood had dreamed of a career in science. She had been involved in science, but marriage and the birth of a child, which are natural for every women, had torn her away from her beloved work. Therefore when, in 1972, she succeeded in finding a job as a lab technician at a uranium-enrichment plant of the Kerr-McGee Corporation not far from Oklahoma City, she considered it her great good fortune. She would have continued to work there so long as the corporation was satisfied with her work were it not for....

In 1974, Karen called attention to a series of on-the-job accidents. And inasmuch as she was not indifferent to the fate of her comrades and had already become a union activist, Silkwood took up this issue. Her comrades trusted her and she was soon elected to the supervisory council of the local of the International Oil, Chemical and Atomic Industry Workers Union. It was then that she began the investigation in earnest.

Surprising things came to light. In a few months, she had in her possession a large file containing evidence not only of a disregard for equipment safety rules at the enterprise, fictitious analyses of radioactive fuel and forged documents concerning its quality, but also of the puzzling disappearance of plutonium from the plant.

A few words should probably be said about the Kerr-McGee Corporation where Silkwood worked. In the United States, it is called a "giant" of the energy industry, which has for more than a half a century dominated the business and political world of the state of Oklahoma.

Karen Silkwood discovered the secret routes by which the plutonium was leaving the United States. It was taken directly to the nuclear reactor in Dimona. She had seemingly gotten too close to the carefully protected secrets of the Zionists and the Pentagon. For this reason, she had become a "dangerous witness". More so in that it had become known from telephone conversations bugged by the special services that Silkwood intended meeting with an official union representative and a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent. Karen assured them that she would talk not only about "the strange happenings and goings-on" at the plant of the Kerr-McGee Corporation but also back up her story with the irrefutable documents in the file she had compiled.

This communication was the final straw following which it was decided to "remove" Karen. Everything had been precisely calculated. She had to drive only 30 miles (1 mile = 1.6 km) to the location of the meeting, but Silkwood's car did not even get one-third of the way. Losing control, she sped down the highway embankment and smacked into the concrete wall of a viaduct. Karen died instantly, and pages of the file were scattered in the red Oklahoma dirt. The state highway police officer who was the first to arrive at the scene of the accident, indicated in the report that he gathered up the papers and put them in the trunk of the totaled vehicle. However, the next day these papers were not there: they had vanished without a trace.

The FBI hastened to declare that Silkwood was a drug addict and that the accident had occurred through her own fault after she had taken a drug overdose. The questioning of witnesses who had known Karen and the results of the autopsy refuted this statement. Then came something new: the car had not been serviced in a long time, and as a result the steering mechanism had failed. Experts who inspected the automobile did not agree with this assertion by the police either.

More, they expressed the belief that the catastrophe had occurred as a consequence of "a heavy collision in the front left door from the outside." There were also witnesses who declared under oath that on 13 November 1974, on Highway 74 the car driven by Karen Silkwood was being pursued by an unknown automobile with four men inside. It was clear: It was no accident, rather a cold-blooded, calculated murder.

The U.S. Justice Department "responded" to this evidence in its own way. The case was closed and all material of the investigation consigned to the archives. Silkwood's friends and colleagues, who have managed in this time to unearth many details, have not succeeded in finding the murderer, although they are firmly convinced that behind this crime against the union activist stand the special services of the United States and Israel.

Fruits of a Dangerous Alliance

...On 22 September 1979, at 0300 local time, a U.S. Air Force Vela reconnaissance satellite in the South Atlantic-Indian Ocean region registered a double light flash. Both the CIA and the Pentagon concluded that this was a test of a 2 to 3-kiloton nuclear bomb. Citing informed sources, the British television program "World in Action" claimed that a nuclear device developed and manufactured by Israel in conjunction with South Africa had been exploded over the Kalahari Desert.

Thus culminated the racist-Zionist nuclear alliance which had emerged back in the mid-1960's. There had been a number of meetings at that time of high-ranking Mossad representatives and their colleagues from South Africa, in the course of which the need for the creation of a Tel Aviv-Pretoria "nuclear axis" was recognized. This agreement acquired new directions in all subsequent years, and ultimately the roles were allocated thus: Israel made available to South Africa nuclear technology, technical personnel, and nuclear weapon delivery systems developed with the assistance of Western, primarily American, allies or stolen from them; in turn, South Africa supplied uranium to the Zionists and also, inasmuch as difficulties had risen for the latter concerning the territory where nuclear devices might be tested, made available to them a proving ground, more precisely, Africans' land.

The first fruit of this dishonorable alliance was the testing of a jointly manufactured bomb at the end of 1979. Today, however, we may assert with confidence the following. Both countries have nuclear weapon delivery systems: jet bombers, missiles and 155-mm howitzers. Both Tel Aviv and Pretoria have nuclear reactors operating on uranium suitable for the production of nuclear weapons. As far as their arsenals are concerned, nothing can be said about them with complete certainty, naturally. Reports testifying to the existence of such filter through into the press now and again, it is true. Figures are cited -- from a few warheads to 200. This is understandable: such information is in the category of the most guarded state secrets.

But ultimately it it not a question of how many bombs and of what yield the South African racists and Israeli Zionists are prepared to drop on their neighbors, they could do it now or in a short time. The main thing is that in their identically fascist, antihuman essence, in their assertions concerning the "exclusiveness" of their race and in their hatred of national liberation movements they are prepared to do this. Through the fault of imperialist circles and the West's monopolies the shadow of the nuclear threat today looms over the Near East and South Africa.

FURTHER ON DOS SANTO MEETINGS IN MOSCOW

LD081010 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 8 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- "History has not given us the right not to win in the struggle for peace, for the national independence of the peoples of African states" -- although these words were said by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, almost at the end of his conversation with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola]-Workers' Party president of the People's Republic of Angola, they nevertheless reflect the substance of everything that was said during their meeting in the Kremlin today [7 May].

Studied first of all during the conversation were the problems of state development in Angola and also the situation on the African Continent as a whole.

"We know well that Angola has squared its shoulders as an independent state and is following the course of socialist orientation", said Andrey Gromyko. He assured the Angolan friends that the Soviet Union would always be on the side of those who come out for the national independence of peoples, for strenghtening state sovereignty. "The USSR is always prepared to share its rich experience of state development", Andrey Gromyko said.

The situation in Africa was analysed in detail. Andrey Gromyko said that this continent is one of the biggest arenas in which the forces of progress and reaction, war and peace, racism and the equality of races, apartheid and friendship of peoples clash. As to the actions of the United States in respect of Africa, and in particular Angola, they are a manifestation of the Washington administration's general line of whipping up international tension, increasing confrontation and fanning up regional conflicts, he said further.

In the struggle of the African states for freedom and independence the USSR has given and will further give them resolute support. In this connection the mutual satisfaction was expressed with the steady growth of Soviet-Angolan coperation in the political, trade, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other fields. Both sides will work for the further development of cooperation between the supreme bodies of state power of the two countries -- the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the People's Assembly of Angola.

Gorbachev Signs Joint Accord

LD071427 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, signed today in the Kremlin a plan for party ties between the CPSU and the MPLA-Labor Party for the years 1986-88.

Comrades Aliyev; Gromyko; Zaykov; Ligachev; Ryzhkov; Solomentsev; Chebrikov; Shevardnadze; Demichev; Dolgikh; Sokolov; Talyzin; Biryukova; Dobrynin; Medvedev; Razumovskiy; Yakovlev; and Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, and other officials as well as Angolan party and state figures were present at the signing.

Angolan Radio Praises Talks

LD071931 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Luanda May 7 TASS -- The Meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Workers Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola, and the Soviet-Angolan summit talks are of exceptional significance, the Angolan national radio said. They are a new milestone on the way of a further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union, the radio pointed out, has been, is and will always be the vanguard in the fight for preserving and strengthening peace on earth. The People's Republic of Angola strongly condemns the imperialist reactionary circles, which are continuing the arms race, are creating seats of tensions and unleashing armed conflicts in one or another region of the world. Examples of this are the recent U.S. aggression against the Libyan Jamahiriyah and the systematic armed provocations against Nicaragua. This policy of international imperialism with the USA at its head is a serious obstacle in the way to peace and international security.

The south African region, the radio said, it a permanent seat of tensions. This happens through the fault of Washington and Pretoria. The People's Republic of Angola is making every effort in order to settle the complex problems of southern Africa peacefully.

Angola, in common with all progressive nations, resolutely comes out for an effective implementation of the proposals and initiatives of the USSR directed at ensuring universal peace and international security, the national radio said.

Visits Lenin Museum, Lays Wreaths

LD071942 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1030 GMT 7 May 86

[Report from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola, who is staying in our country on an official friendly visit, visited the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Museum on Red Square, and laid a wreath. The eminent guest honored the memory of the creator of the world's first socialist state, the leader of the world proletariat, with a minute's silence.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall today. He honored the memory of the immortal feat of Soviet soldiers with a minute's silence.

Dinner Speech Noted

For Luanda radio coverage of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' speech at a dinner in his honor hosted by the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government in the Kremlin on 6 May, see the Southern Africa section of the 8 May Middle East & Africa DAILY REPORT.

KYODO REPORTS FOREIGN MINISTRY RESHUFFLE

OW0800l3 Tokyo KYODO in English 0002 GMT 8 May 86

[Text] Moscow, May 8 KYODO -- Mikhail Kapitsa, a Soviet vice foreign minister in charge of Asian affairs, is expected to be replaced soon in the latest reshuffle of top personnel at the Foreign Ministry, informed sources say. The sources said Kapitsa, 64, is expected to be come head of the Soviet Diplomatic Academy. They said Leonid Ilichev, 80, another vice foreign minister who has been in charge of Soviet negotiations with China, will soon retire.

Kapitsa has been the chief Soviet diplomat for Asian affairs since 1982, and has overseen Soviet negotiations with Japan. He has been to Japan several times, most recently last September for working-level consultations.

Ilichev has been the chief Soviet delegate for the regular vice ministerial consultations with China since the talks began in 1982.

Georgiy M. Korniyenko, one of the two first deputy foreign ministers, has been replaced by Yuliy Vorontsov, the former Soviet ambassador to France. According to Western reports here, Korniyenko has been appointed aid to Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, the former ambassador to Washington who now heads the Communist Party Central Committee's International Department.

Viktor Maltsev, the other first deputy foreign minister, has also been relieved of his position, according to informed sources here.

THEORY OF PEOPLE'S SELF-MANAGEMENT EXAMINED

PM281051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 86 First Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences A. Lukyanov under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "People's Socialist Self Management"]

[Text] Living, creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves. This terse formulation of Lenin's expresses the main essence of the building of socialism and its advance and development. The further socialist society advances along its historic path, the more people must be enlisted every day to the implementation of the tasks facing it. By virtue of this, the implementation of the course outlined by the party toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development necessarily presupposes the consistent improvement of our democracy and all forms of the full power of the people. The 27th CPSU Congress clearly determined that the core of this process under contemporary conditions consists of the increasingly full implementation of the people's socialist self-management on the basis of the active and effective participant of the working people and their collectives and organizations in resolving questions of state and social life.

The idea of the assertion of the peoples self-management as a result of the victory of the proletarian revolution was voiced by K. Marx and F. Engels essentially in the Communist Manilfesto. The manifesto emphasized that the state of the exploiting minority should be marked by a fundamentally new, democratic organization of power. This should be the proletariat organized as the ruling class, that is, for the first time in history an enormous working people's majority should itself manage all its own affairs. "The situation whereby the people are managed," K. Marx indicated, "should be replaced by the people's self-management."

It was from this viewpoint that the founders of Marxism also examined the first experiment in proletarian statehood -- the Paris Commune -- defining it as the management of the people through the people, the full power of the people organized into communes (Footnote 1) (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Works" Vol 17, pp 350, 344).

Relying on these fundamental ideas of Marxism, the Bolshevik party headed by V. I. Lenin clearly realized that the proletariat's gain of political power and the creation of a new statehood should signify a fundamental breakthrough in the masses' self-management and their participation in state affairs. Discarding views entrenched over decades, the Bolsheviks proclaim: "...We demand an immediate break with the prejudice that only the rich or officials from rich families are capable of managing the state and undertaking the humdrum daily work of management. We demand that training in state management should be carried out by aware workers and soldiers and that it should be initiated immediately" (Footnote 2) (V. I. Lenin: "Completed Collected Works" Vol 34, p 315). Of course, V. I. Lenin understood very well the incredible difficulty of this task in a backward country such as Russia was and could sense the inevitability of errors that the working people would encounter on their path when they tackled the complex and delicate business of management. "But," he asked, "...surely there can be no other way toward training the people to manage themselves, to ridding ourselves of errors, except the path of practice? Except immediate access to real people's self-management?" (Footnote 3) (Vol 34, p 316)

Let us read these lines of Lenin's again. They attest that back in 1917 the leader of our party clearly saw the prospect of transition to real popular self-management. According to Lenin's plan, it was inseparable from the working people's gain of state power and consisted of the working people's fullest possible participation in management. Here this participation of the masses and their self-management were not set against the state of the working people but, on the contrary, were conceived as its main content. This was of exceptional importance.

After all, until then the idea of self-management on such a broad plane had never been examined. It was born initially as the expression of the need for the small-scale producer to administer his property, his shop, or urban or rural community independently. But under the rule of private ownership and the omnipotence of the exploiting classes this idea could only be implemented within the narrow framework of the local affairs of small-scale, fragmented territorial or production units. The ruling classes have never shared and will not share the power belonging to them with anyone. That is why local self-management has always been viewed as a counterweight to central state power. On this basis many political theories have appeared, including the reformist concpet of "municipal socialism" according to which, in developing local self-management and expanding municipal ownership, it is possible to gradually achieve the development of capitalism into socialism.

When the revolutionary exploit of the Russian proletariat created the soviets of workers deputies, the Russian Mensheviks also declared that the Soviets were conceivable only as organs of local self-management and in no circumstances should assume state power. The Bolshevik Leninists resolutely opposed opportunist ideas of this kind. According to Lenin's plan, the sum total of soviets centrally and locally should serve to rally the working people to exercise state power and to ensure that "the people themselves manage themselves." That meant that the Soviet form of people's self-management" that existed in the bourgeois state. Not small-scale community affairs, not an adjunct of state power, but that power itself, built on the basis of the working people's vigorous and mass participation in the affairs of the state and on the basis of their self-management -- that is how V. I. Lenin saw the Republic of the Soviets.

The working people's genuine self-management becomes possible only with the victory of the socialist revolution. It is not for nothing that the first Soviet Constitution in 1918 stressed that all power in the RSFSR belonged to the country's entire working population united in the city and rural soviets and it was not for nothing that the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) program adopted in 1919 indicated that, having turned the soviets -- the organizations of the enormous majority of the population -- into the permanent and sole basis of the entire state apparatus, both local and central, the Soviet state had thereby "implemented and, incidentally, in an incomparably broader form than anywhere else, management without any authorities appointed from above." (Footnote 4) (Vol 38, p 423).

Of course, the conditions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, humger and destruction, illiteracy and lack of culture made it impossible to ensure the full and immediate participation of all working people in state affairs. "The low cultural standard," V.I. Lenin wrote, "makes for a situation in which the soviets, while being, in accordance with their program, the organs of management through the working people, are in fact organs of management for the working people, through the progressive stratum of the proletariat" (Footnote 5) (Vol 38, p 170). Although at this very difficult time a colossal amount was done to enlist the masses in management (during the first decade of soviet power over 27 million people graduated from the school of management in the soviets and ispolkoms in the RSFSR alone), the overcoming of the working people's view of the state -- a view formed over centuries of exploitation -- as something alien and hostile was an extraordinarily difficult problem.

The people who had accomplished the socialist revolution still had to spend a long time assimilating their new position as the sole and undivided masters in state affairs, strengthening socialist democracy, resolutely overcoming anarcho-syndicalist ideas of removing the state from the leadership of the economy and the Trotskiyists' attempts to "turn into state bodies" the trade unions and other forms of the working people's autonomous social activity.

Considerable time was needed during which, as the foundations of socialism were built and as it strengthened and developed, increasingly powerful strata of the population were enlisted to management and welcomed it as their own vital concern. In this process the socialist state's social base was consistemtly expanded. The soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers deputies became the soviets of working people's deputies while the socialist self-management of the workers and peasants gradually become the self-management of all working people.

The full and definitive victory of socialism in our country and the completion of the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the working class into the state of the people marked a new, qualitative advance on the path toward state power not only being implemented in the interests of the people but also to an ever greater degree becoming the direct concern of each working person.

The increasingly full implementation of the people's socialist self-management, the new draft of the CPSU Program notes, is at the present stage the strategic line for the development of the entire political system of our society. As V.I. Lenin predicted, this development of self-management principles proceeds not outside but primarily with Soviet statehood. Here the intensification of self-management in no way contradicts the consolidation of the socialist state. Moreover, taken outside the state, under present conditions it would simply lose its real purport. The Soviet state of all the people is the main instrument for the improvement of socialism and the acceleration of our society's development, an instrument for the defense of the socialist gains in the international arena. At the same time, it is an all-embracing organization of the masses whose democratic, nationwide nature is being revealed increasingly fully and vividly with every passing year. The people are united in their state through the soviets of people's deputies -- mass organs of state power, which virtually the entire adult population of the country takes part in electing.

The Communist Party has outlined and is implementing a broad package of measures to improve the work of soviets on all levels. As the new edition of the CPSU Program notes, the party is consistently helping to ensure that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republics' supreme soviets consistently improve legislation, effectively resolve key problems of domestic and foreign policy, actively lead the activity of lower-ranking soviets, and check the work of the organs accountable to them. A very important part of improving socialist statehood consists of the growth of the role and responsibility of local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the regions, in resolving autonomously tasks of local importance, and in coordinating the monitoring of organizational activity in their territory.

During the fulfillment of these tasks the work of the soviets and their deputies in enlisting working people to the management of the country should become increasingly active and varied. It is a case, the Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress noted, of putting into operation all instruments giving every citizen a real opportunity to actively influence the elaboration of management decisions, verify their fulfillment, and obtain the necessary information on the apparatus' activity -- the improvement of our electoral practice, the enhancement of the responsibility of deputies and officials and their regular reports to the population, the expansion of publicity, and the system proposed by the 27th CPSU Congress for certification after each election of responsible officials of the soviets apparatus.

The intensification of the people's socialist self-management is connected with the development of forms of direct democracy inherent in our statehood. Foremost here is the enhancement of the labor collectives's activeness. The party sets the task of gradually expanding the range of problems for which the labor collectives' decisions are final, enhancing the role of general meetings of workers and employees, and gradually introducing the elective appointment of leading workings of enterprises. Along with this, the question is raised of ensuring that in the period between general meetings, not only in teams but also at the level of enterprises, councils of labor collectives should function and should include representatives of the administration, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations; team councils; and workers and specialists. Consequently, the principles of self-management will penetrate increasingly deeply into the economic life and production sphere. Here self-management in the production collectives fully complies with the state-planned leadership of the economy and promotes the intensification of the state's economic organization and control functions and the better combination of centralism and local initiative, one-man management and electivity in managing the national economy.

Within the framework of our state of all the people other forms of working people's direct participation in political life are developing intensively. Citizens' meetings at their place of residence in cities and village gatherings have become widespread.

The press, radio, and television, the regular reception of voters by deputies, and the investigation of citizens' letters and statements are playing an increasing role in ascertaining public opinion and the requirements of different groups of the population. Nationwide discussions of draft laws and other important questions of public life are firmly entering practice.

At the same time, the development of all these forms of social democracy and the implementation of the principles of people's self-management are a far from spontaneous process. They must be backed up by a system of economic, organizational, legal, and other measures. For instance, it is clear that the introduction of self-management in production teams and labor collectives can proceed successfully only when it is based on a real expansion of the rights of enterprises, an effective financial autonomy, and an intensification of people's material and moral interest.

Persistent work is needed to enhance the working people's initiative and political and legal culture as is a struggle against all kinds of bureaucratic distortions, instances of disregard for publicity, and violations of socialist legality. The introduction of the principles of self-management is being impeded by departmentalism and unjustified attempts to centralize the solution of questions that can be resolved far better locally. No less dangerous is localistic preference, which is sometimes skillfully concealed by talk of developing local initiative and enterprise.

The introduction of the principles of the people's socialist self-management is an inseparable organic part of the development of democratic centralism. It enriches and strengthens its socialist nature and creates ever new prerequisites for the far fuller implementation of his constitutional rights and duties by every citizens.

In our country the public organizations, mass movements, and organs of public initiative act as an essential and effective form of asserting the principles of the people's self-management. The trade unions and Komsomol, cooperatives and voluntary societies, people's militia, and parents' committees -- these and many other types of public formations have become the expression of the daily participation of millions of people in the country's management.

An unwieldy state apparatus the contraindicated for public organizations. Their life is built on the basis of the working people's inititiave. It proceeds mainly in the primarly organizations -- grass roots cells where the most diverse questions are directly resolved. The party considers the fullest and most effective possible fulfillment of its inherent functions by each public organization, the expression and implementation of the interests of the working people it unites, and the intensification of Soviet people's civic initiative and responsibility to be a very important task. There are very great reserves here. The facts attest that some public organizations are failing to exercise a substantial proportion of their statutory rights, rely little on the masses, frequently try to operate solely through the efforts of the staff apparatus, and are carried away with all kinds of ostentatious measures. In other words, the popular, creative, enterprising nature of public organizations is being displayed far from fully.

The 27th CPSU Congress particularly stressed the need to resolutely eliminate those shortcomings that contradict the self-management nature of public organization. It pointed out that the party deems it expedient to take further steps to enhance the role of trade unions and the Komsomol, the creative unions and the voluntary societies in the system of the people's socialist self-management. In particular, it is planned to expand the range of questions that the state organs can resolve only with the participation or prior consent of the relevant trade unions, Komsomol, and women's organizations, giving these organizations the right in a number of cases to suspend implementation. The proposals supported by the congress on the creation of an all-unoin public organization of war and labor veterans and on the resurrection of the women's councils in the labor collectives and at places of residence will be of importance in this respect.

Thus, there is a contant endeavor by the party to develop new, increasingly effective forms of the people's self-management not only within the framework of the state but also within the framework of the public organizations. These forms are closely interlinked and interconditioned. The practice of past decades has convincingly shown the unsoundness of the mechanical approach, which links the advance toward communism primarily with the ousting of state institutions through the transfer of their functions of public organizations. The main thing here is not the redistribution of state and public functions but above all the enrichment of the real content and fullest possible implementation of its existing functions by every state organ and public organization. This is the basis of the reserve for enhancing the role and developing the activeness of the soviets and other state organs and of all mass voluntary Associations.

The new edition of the CPSU Program and the altered party statutes approved by the 27th CPSU Congress focus attention on this.

So the people's socialist self-management in the form in which it has taken shape in our country at the present stage is implemented through all echelons of the Soviet political system and acts in both state and public forms. We are faced with a phenomenon of social progress that is exceptionally rich in content and diverse in form. Its thrust lies in ensuring the real, practical participation of an increasingly large mass of working people in management -- in elaborating, discussing, adopting, and implementing socioeconomic decisions.

That is why, as M.S. Gorbachev noted, we cannot agree with the oversimplified interpretation of self-managemement that still exists whereby in some cases it is linked with the activity of only individual cells of socialist society (production or territorial) and in others is counterposed to state management, and in still others is deferred until transition to the supreme phase of communism.

Self-management is a matter for today, not only tomorrow. It is manifested at all levels and in all spheres of society's political, economic, and spiritual life and cannot be limited to encompassing the masses in merely a general and formal manner. It cannot be thus limited because under the conditions of the country's accelerated development it is not simply the quantitative growth of the broadest people's masses participation in the life of society and the state that is needed. A new qualitative level of activeness on the part of every adult citizen is needed, because the true activeness of all is formed from the activeness of each person. This above all is the purport of the slogan "the masses' living creation is the decisive force of acceleration."

Our party acts as the main organizer and leading force of this popular creation. It is itself the supreme form of a self-managed sociopolitical organization. "That means," V.I. Lenin pointed out, "that all party affairs are managed directly or through representatives by all members of the party on the basis of equal rights and without any exception" (Footnote 6) (Vol 14, p 252). In developing intraparty democracy and enhancing the responsibility and activeness of Communists working in state and public organization, the party ensures their leadership, sets the correct tone for the country's entire political life, and promotes the people's socialist self-management laterally and in depth.

The CPSU clearly defines the immediate and remote frontiers of our country's development. In improving the people's socialist self-management, it carefully supports in it the shoots of the future communist organization of society. The communism toward which we are advancing will mark the transformation of the system of socialist self-management and socialist democracy into the supreme form of society's organization -- communist social self-management. It will become the embodiment of the cherished ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the working people of all countries for the creation of a just social system in which, on the basis of the constant development of production forces, opportunities are opened up for the full satisfaction of the reasonable requirements of society and the individual and participation in the management of public affairs becomes a constant living requirement for the person, worker, and creator.

YAKOVLEV ATTENDS COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS FESTIVAL

LD072313 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] An important role in managing the national economy, speeding up scientific and technical progress, and strengthening international cooperation is played by the country's communications workers.

This was stated at a solemn meeting in Moscow devoted to Radio Day, the festival of workers in all communications sectors.

In the presidium were Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Belyakov and Pasternak, chiefs of departments of the CPSU Central Committee; heads of a number of ministries and departments; leading production workers, scientists, and representatives of the capital's public.

Pervyshin, minister of the communications equipment industry, delivered a report. He noted that the 27th CPSU Congress has set the country's communications workers new tasks. The integrated transformations of the economic mechanism within the communications sector is facilitating the successful implementation of what has been planned. Improvements are to be carried out in industrial and domestic equipment, the zone of reliable reception of television programs and the telephone network are to be expanded; the delivery of periodicals is to be improved.

VOROTNIKOV ADDRESSES KARELIA ASSR SUPREME SOVIET

LD071527 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] The working people of Karelia ASSR are responding with specific deeds to the 27th CPSU Congress decisions on accelerating the socioeconomic development of Soviet society. Measures to impose order, organization, and discipline are being implemented everywhere in the autonomous republic. The results of the 4 months of this year have shown that the northerners have made quite a good start in the new 5-year plan. This was stated today at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Karelia ASSR that discussed the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies of the autonomous republic in fulfilling the 27th CPSU Congress decisions.

Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the session. He dwelled in detail on ways to reequip and renovate technically the production process, questions on improving capital construction, the economy and rational use of means, raw and other materials. The 27th CPSU Congress focused exceptional attention on questions of social policy. Its consistent implementation, the speaker stressed, is directly linked by the party with its highest program objectives.

Comrade Vorotnikov also referred to questions connected with enhancing all cultural educational work and providing interesting leisure activities for people.

Filatov, chairman of the Karelia ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: Ushakova, plasterer of the Segezhstroy trust; Gavrilov, heavy truck driver of Kostomuksha mine-enrichment combine; Silin, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Konchezero village soviet of Kondopozhskiy Rayon, and others who spoke at the session noted that, alongside the achievements in the socioeconomic sphere of the republic, there still exist shortcomings. Major reserves have still not been drawn into the economy. Great opportunities to accelerate the rate of production and growth lie in improving the use of existing funds and capacities.

A decision that was adopted at the session noted measures toward a decisive elimination of shortcomings and omissions. It demanded that local soviets carry out a fundamental restructuring of the style and methods of work and modilize labor collectives toward strict fulfillment of the planned tasks and the full utilization of existing reserves.

During his stay in the Karelia ASSR 5-7- May Comrade Vorotnikov visited a number of industrial enterprises, construction sites and farms.

In Petrozavodsk the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers laid flowers at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Memorial and a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. He inspected new housing areas, acquainted himself with the progress of construction work of cultural and everyday service amenities and chatted with the inhabitants about the problems of transport, trade, and medical services. At the Petrozavodskbummash production association there was a conversation with the workers and specialists, during which the collective's attention was drawn to the need to improve the quality of the paper production equipment that is manufactured at the plant. Questions on accelerating scientific-technical progress and perfecting the forms and methods of management were discussed.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers visited the sovkhoz named after Hero of the Soviet Union Zaltsev, in which the experience of the effective development of land husbandry and the cultivation of potatoes, vegetables, and fodder crops in conditions of the northern Nonchernozem Zone has been accumulated. He inspected a dairy production farm, met with farm specialists, and looked into questions of the intensification of production.

At Kondopoga Comrade Vorotnikov visited the pulp-and-paper combine and stone works. At the combine, which produces one-third of the country's newsprint, he acquainted himself with the work of paper-making machines. The collectives that operate these machines have achieved, without reducing quality, the production of the thinnest newsprint, which has saved many hundreds of hectares of valuable fir trees from being felled.

In conversations with workers and specialists at the enterprise the task was set to improve advanced technology, to introduce new technology as quickly as possible and to actively restructure management methods in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. At the stone works questions on improving the quality of articles were discussed.

At Kostomuksha, where a large mine-enrichment combine was recently commissioned, Comrade Vorotnikov learned about the progress of mastering the enterprise's capacities and the prospects for the further development of iron-ore deposits. Special attention was focused on the integrated utilization of raw material and environmental protection.

During his inspection of the town the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers acquainted himself with the progress of the ongoing construction situation and indicated the need for satisfying more fully the working people with housing, for accelerating the rate of construction of cultural and everyday service enterprises, and for improving medical and trade services.

At the CPSU obkom a conversation took place with the republic's party and local soviet aktiv.

During his visit to the autonomus republic Comrade Vorotnikov was accompanied by Comrade Stepanov, first secretary of the Karelian Obkom, and Comrade Ivanov, chairman of the Karelia ASSR Council of Minister.

BURLATSKIY CITES LENIN, NEP ON ECONOMIC REFORMS

WA070826 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by Fedor Burlatskiy: "Lenin and the Strategy of a Sharp Turning Point"]

[Text] The implementation strategy of a major turning point of the major economic and social reforms planned by the 27th CPSU Congress begins with the reorganization of one's awareness, the rejection of mental and practical stereotypes, and with a clear understanding of the new tasks at hand. Serving as a model of this approach are the congress materials and the subsequent decisions of the party and the Soviet state. They confirm the truly Leninist work style in all spheres of life in Soviet society and provide an orientation for every labor collective and every worker.

The numerous letters sent by readers to our editorial office contain the full support of the party decisions that are directed toward the acceleration of the country's social and economic development. At the same time, those letters attest to people's desire to penetrate as deeply as possible into the essence of the new ideas that reflect the strategy of the turning point. Special interest is evoked by such theoretical questions as the concept of reform under socialism; the development of cooperatives and of the family contract; the consistent implementation of Leninist cost accountability; the role of commodity-monetary relations and the socialist market; and the development of socialist self-government.

The elaboration of these questions is graphic testimony to the progress of the party's theoretical thought and an indicator of the high level of social development as a whole. This makes it possible not only to pose, but also to solve in the practical situation, increasingly complicated and broad tasks in communist construction. But in order to assure that those ideas become a material force, they must be passed through people's awareness, must be correctly understood and firmly assimilated by every Soviet laborer, and must become, in the true sense of the word, a guide for action. On the eve of the birthday of V.I. Lenin, it is of vital importance to consider the principles enunciated at the party's 27th congress, viewing them through the prism of Lenin's advice and ideas, which are in harmony with our time, pertaining to the strategy of the major turning point. This task is fulfilled by the following article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political commentator F.M. Burlatskiy, which is devoted to certain philosophical and sociological questions in the dialectics of socialism.

At the present time, when the party has advanced new tasks in the acceleration of our country's social economic development, it is extremely important to compare its plans over and over again with Lenin's behests, to again think carefully about his ideas, thoughts, and recommendations concerning the paths of the development of socialism, and concerning our ideals. Lenin's works that are of special value are those that were written at the time socialist construction was beginning. We have in mind such works as "Report on the Replacement of [Food] Requisitions by an In-Kind Tax," "The Food Tax," "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," "Cooperatives," "How We Should Reorganize Rabkrin [Workers and Peasants Inspectorate]," and "It's Better to Have Less, But Better." In these works we find the answers to many fundamental questions of great concern to us today and which our readers ask in their letters.

Of course, no one would think of mechanically comparing today with the past -- comparing the 1980's with the 1920's. At the present time, our country has reached a level of economic, social, and cultural development that previously people could only dream of. But there is one regard in which comparison is possible and necessary. The country was at a major turning point then, and it is at a major turning point now. Then it was making the change from "war communism" to the NEP [New Economic Policy].

Currently it is making the change from extensive development to intensive, which is based on the latest achievements of science, technology, and technological processes.

Question 1: The Art of the Political Turn

Politics are both science and art, Lenin used to say. The intellectual superiority of Lenin the theoretician was multiplied by a firm, truly iron will, and by political boldness. It was precisely that amalgam that provided that astonishing property that delighted his contemporaries -- his great art of making a turn in policy.

Lenin's political activity is full of examples such as this. After the February Revolution, when many people in the party leadership counted on the prolonged cooperation of the leftist forces in the Soviets and even issued the summons to support the Provisional Government, Vladimir Ilich, in his April theses, decisively turned in the direction of preparing a proletarian revolution: In July-September 1917, when a large number of people in the party were thinking only about how to save it from devastation, Lenin advanced the slogan of seizing power. And there were also the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, the New Economic Policy in the twenties....

Let us imagine the situation at that time. The civil war had just ended; the economy was in a state of collapse; famine had taken on truly unprecedented scope; and the demoralization had seized the broadest segments of the petty bourgeoisie and had even touched the proletariat to a certain degree. The rigid regulation of economic practice which was typical of "war communism" was increasing coming into contradiction with the vitally important tasks of restoring and developing the national economy and with the vital interests of the working masses. The critical question arose: along what path shall we proceed?

The best minds in the party, headed by Lenin, sensed the lack of promise and the danger in moving ahead along the previous path. Vladimir Ilich began a new approach to economic policy by asking a simple question that was obvious to the broad masses -- the question of a food tax. The use of that food tax to replace food requisitions, and the changeover to economic turnover between the city and the countryside, undoubtedly aided socialist construction. Lenin showed that it is possible to introduce order in economic life not in passing, but on the basis of economic reform; not by introducing the coerciveness in labor, but by relying on material self-interest on people's high responsibility and conscious discipline; not by ignoring the masses, but by developing their independence.

The 27th CPSU Congress creatively applied the Leninist art of making a political turn. That means first of all the ability to look the real facts of life boldly in the face and to evaluate the situation realistically. Then, the decisive rejection of methods that have not proven their worth, and the development of a clear concept of constructive reforms. And, finally, the ability to rely upon genuine enthusiasts of the course to be carried out.

Question 2: The Nature of Reforms Under Socialism

It was necessary for Lenin to overcome the strong prejudices that existed at that time against the food tax and other reforms. In and of itself, the phrase "socialism and reform" sounded at that time nonsensical, as something that contradicted the very principles of scientific communism.

Lenin wrote, "We see living together theoretical boldness with regard to general principles and astonishing shyness with regard to any official reform, however insignificant." During Lenin's time, the question of the very admissibility of reform under socialism was considered to be extremely debatable. A revolutionary -- that is

understandable. But a proponent of reforms? Is it not the holy duty of every Communist to fight reformism? Lenin especially analyzed the question of the role of reforms under socialism in his article "The Importance of Gold..." The crux of the matter is that Lenin's opponents had confused two different concepts: reformist and reformer. A reformist is an opponent of socialist revolution, whether he be a Social Democrat or a revisionist who opposes the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class. But a reformer is a transformer of society, who acts at a time when the revolution has already been victorious and when it is precisely the economic and social reforms that are moving the revolution increasingly deeper and farther.

Until the victory of the proletariat, reform is a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle, Lenin explains. "After the victory of the proletariat, at least in one country, something new appears in the relationship of reforms to the revolution. Fundamentally speaking, the situation remains the same, but in form there is a change which Marx was personally unable to foresee, but which can be realized only on the ground of the philosophy and policy of Marxism."

One can mention no less than two dozen major social reforms that have been carried out since that time, beginning with the nationalization of industry, the food tax, the formation of cooperatives in the countryside, and ending with the most recent reform, the school reform. In all socialist countries during recent years there have also been social reforms in various areas of life. But until now many scientists and practical workers frequently experience more fears than hopes with respect to the very possibility of such reforms.

As was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th congress, a position that has become widespread is the one when, any change in the economic mechanism is viewed practically as a deviation from the principles of socialism. In this regard, the report emphasizes, the highest criterion of the improvement of administration, as with the entire system of socialist production relations, must be social and economic acceleration, and the reinforcement of socialist in deed.

This criterion is applicable in any sphere. Whether one is dealing with minicomputers or with our daily bread, with works of cinematography or television, the universal point from which one conducts the measurement is labor productivity, the quality of output, and the acceleration of development. In his answers to the Algerian newspaper REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, M.S. Gorbachev remarked that our party's economic strategy presupposes first of all the remodeling of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress and the change of its structural and investment policy. At the same time, it requires radical economic reforms that are aimed at assuring that the entire national economy operates dynamically in, as it were, a self-regulating mode.

It is necessary to note at least two types of reforms that are currently being conducted in the socialist countries. The first type is the reform of the administrative mechanism; the second is the reform of the structure of production relations. Obviously, this second alternative is the most important, but also the most difficult. We have in mind the need to put under new working conditions and new conditions for providing labor incentives the producers of material and spiritual values themselves -- the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It is precisely this change that resolves the matter at hand and helps to accelerate our development.

The fundamental peculiarities of the structural reforms being carried out in our country and in other socialist countries are determined by the fact that they are occurring under conditions when public ownership has been victorious in the city and the countryside, that is, ownership on a collectivistic basis. And they are being brought to life by the rapid development of the scientific-technical revolution. They are its

direct result. They pose as their goal the prediction, planning and prompt carrying out of the social shifts that are the inevitable consequence of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution].

The administrator who is capable of carrying out these reforms -- on the scale of the branch, oblast, rayon, kolkhoz, or enterprise -- is precisely the kind of administrator who, by deed, rather than in words, helps the reorganization that is currently under way.

Question 3: The Creative Use of the Policy of the Food Tax

The most surprising thing is how rapidly the food tax and other measures yielded a result. I will always remember a story that my father used to tell. As a participant in the civil war, he had been sent with a detachment to take grain away from the basis in accordance with the food-requisition program. By some miracle, he escaped being captured by a gang. Just one year after the food tax had been introduced, my father, who by that time was suffering from tuberculosis, was sent for treatment to the same village. He was absolutely astonished by the changes -- by the abundance of milk, eggs, bread, and even meat.

Properly speaking, at that time everyone was astonished by the rapid economic effect. With the aid of the bold reform, it was possible, within a period of a few years, to establish the normal supply of food products in a starving and ruined country. Incidentally, by that time the peasants themselves, without being forced by anyone to do so, began to establish comradely cooperative ties that were beneficial for them. Lenin evaluated this new phenomenon and forecasted its great future.

The reader remembers, of course, that Vladimir Ilich begins his famous article "Cooperatives" with an indication that in our country the cooperative takes on completely exceptional importance. Why? Because once the state power is in the hands of the worker and all the means of production belong to the state, the only task remaining is the formation of cooperatives among the public. That pertained first of all to the peasantry for which the forming of a cooperative represents possibly a simpler, easier, and more accessible path of changing over to the new procedures.

The 27th congress orients the party toward the creative use of the policy of the food tax under present-day conditions. This requires, first of all, the rejection of such methods as administration by fiat, or nonequivalent exchange; second, the carrying out of the changeover to economic, commercial, and trade relations between the city and the countryside, which is something that Lenin strove persistently to achieve; third, the granting of economic independence to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and thus the increasing of their self-interestedness and their responsibility for the final results and the development of socialist self-government.

An example of this approach is provided by the recent decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which stipulate the measures for improving the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex, for considerably expanding initiative, and for increasing the independence and responsibility of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the results of their activity. Methods that will become widespread are the contract and the job-rate system at the level of the brigade, link, and family, with means of production, including land, being permanently assigned to them for a prolonged period of time.

It is time to reject the warnings that one hears concerning the family contract, which is being used in certain socialist countries. The family contract under conditions of the socialization of the land and the fixed assets in production is a no less legal form of socialism than the customary cooperative (incidentally, the family contract is usually employed within the confines of a cooperative).

Question 4: Urban Cooperatives

Apparently we are underestimating Lenin's idea to the effect that the cooperative form can and must be used not only in the village, but also in the city. "Properly speaking," Lenin wrote, "we have 'only' one thing remaining for us: to make our population so 'civilized' that it understands all the benefits from absolutely everyone's participation in the cooperative and has worked to establish the smooth operation of that participation. It is 'only' that. We do not need any other subleties now to make the changeover to socialism." He emphasized that the "system of civilized cooperative members, with the public ownership of means of production and with the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is what constitutes the system of socialism."

Let us think carefully again about those lines. What does "absolutely everyone" mean? It also means working in a real way to extend the cooperative movement in the cities. It is a form of independent, self-governed association of large and small groups of the workers (obviously, under the supervision of the state) for the achievement of common goals: production, consumption, cultural, sports, professional, local, demographic, and family. The materials and decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress raise for our science and practical workers a number of very important questions.

Is it possible that we have come too soon to the conclusion that the job of organizing cooperatives has been completed? Is it possible that it is precisely on this path that we might also succeed in resolving the problems of our service sphere -- in trade, personal services, the maintenance of motor vehicles, and other technology that are at the disposal of the family? In a number of socialist countries this is being done today, and, incidentally, more broadly and more successfully than in our country. It is also necessary to recall that at the 27th CPSU Congress mention was made of the unjustified reduction in the number of producer cooperatives.

In our country the introduction of cooperative forms has already begun in the personal services sphere and in construction. Collective forms of organizing labor and providing labor incentives, and the economic contract, are finding broader and broader application.

The experience in many of the socialist countries indicates that all we need is literally two or three years in order to organize a good system of providing services to the public, using the entire variety not only of state forms, but also of cooperative forms, as well as the family and individual contract. Obviously, it will be necessary at such time to take into consideration not only the positive experience in the other socialist countries, but also those difficulties and problems that arise there.

Several objections to the broad development of the cooperative movement are usually expressed. The chief objection is, so to speak, of a doctrinal nature. The cooperative, the proponents of this view state, is a step backward compared with state stores, dining rooms, and shops. But who has proved that? In what books is it written? In any instance, it is not stated in the works of Marx or of Lenin. Moreover, how can one speak of a "step backward" if, at such time, there is a better resolution of the task of providing the workers with good food, clothing, and services? Lenin took steps aimed at this under conditions when the Soviet authority had not yet become truly strong. What, then, can such a turn threaten us with today?

But there are also other serious objections, and they deserve greater attention. The first is the possibility on nonlabor profit, and, as a consequence, the growth of social differentiation. However, experience, unfortunately, has already shown with sufficient convincingness that the state form does not have anything to fear from this. Everyone knows how widespread nonlabor income and even criminal ownership have become

in the state services sphere. The cooperative has definite merits: each participant in it has a self-interest in preserving and multiplying the common property.

The second objection is the danger that manpower will spill over from the production sphere into the services area, where the income may be higher. This is a real problem, but it has a solution. We could, for example, make wider use of those retirees who are eagerly looking for any kind of work to do. Of course, there exists the problem of the financial monitoring of the cooperatives. But a progressive tax could become a natural regulator (it exists in other socialist countries).

Of course, all these questions require serious study in order to find the correct ways to resolve them.

In our time the idea of the formation of cooperatives is closely intertwined with new forms of organizing labor under conditions of the modern technological revolution. For example, it is intertwined with work at home in the assembly of timepieces and tape recorders, and, in the long-term view, work with minicomputers. Futurologists predict that within 20-30 years in the industrially developed countries this work at home, regulated from a common center, will occupy approximately 20 percent in the overall balance sheet of labor expenditures.

Question 5: Consistent Cost Accountability

A problem that is much more complicated -- both in theory and in practice -- is the problem of the structural reforms in industry. As was noted at the 27th party congress, this presupposes the simultaneous development of two interrelated principles: the increase in the effectiveness of centralized leadership in implementing the basic goals of the party's economic strategy, and the decisive expansion of the independence of the associations and enterprises, and their responsibility for the highest final results.

It is obvious that we shall have to develop and improve the reform of industrial administration by relying on the experiments being carried out in our country, taking into consideration the experience of the socialist countries, and also studying the progressive methods of administration in Western countries. One thing is already obvious: it is necessary to make complete use of the principle that was precisely formulated by Lenin -- cost accountability. The state, as the owner of the plants and factories, grants the collectives at the enterprises the right of economic administration and the use of that property under its economic (and also, within the necessary limits, administrative) control.

Rereading Lenin's statements concerning the transformation of the industrial system on principles of cost accountability, it is easy to see that economic practice is by no means always adequate to those models that he recommended (we shall not analyze under what kind of circumstances that occurred -- objective or subjective).

Obviously, cost accountability under conditions of socialism has its limits, because all the enterprises have been and continue to be state property. But if they entirely or basically "sit" on the budget; if they themselves do not have at their output at their disposal, but, rather, some other organizations do; and if all the material expenditures are defined from above, then what remains of cost accountability as Lenin understood it? Wherein, then, lies the self-interest of the collective and of each worker in increasing the labor productivity and in its results? There is a broad field here for reflections and experiments. It is not accidental that the experience has been accumulated in our country and in the other socialist countries is so varied.

Lenin determined that which must be included in the sphere of the cost-accountable enterprises themselves. Speaking about the need to "concentrate the entire fulness of power in the hands of the plant administrations," Lenin remarked, "these administrations, drawn up in accordance with the general rule on principles of individual responsibility, must be independently in charge of both the establishment of the size of the wages and the distribution of paper money, rations, work clothes, and all other kinds of supply, with the maximum freedom of shifting them from place to place; with the strictest verification of the actual successes in the increase of production and the fact that production is not operating at a loss, but profitably; with the most serious selection of the most outstanding, most able administrators; etc.

It is precisely the enterprise that is in the center of the entire reorganization of our country's economic mechanism. This entire reorganization has, as its final goal, the creation of the conditions for the effective operation of the working collective. This requires the guarantee for the profitability and self-compensability of all the enterprises, the broad application of economic incentives, the correct use of the total set of commodity-monetary relations, the encouragement of socialist initiative, and the establishment of direct ties between the producers and consumers.

The most acute problem in the work of our industrial enterprises is not even that they are not producing many commodities of good quality. This is a consequence, but the reason lies elsewhere -- not only in the fact that our enterprises do not always seize technical innovations and new technological processes, but, on the contrary, frequently use all means to avoid them. And if this is so, then they cannot keep up with the growth and change in the public's needs. But why it is unprofitable for them to employ innovations or to carry out remodeling. Why is it necessary to employ force or administrative pressure? Many people propose including the modernization in the plan and, of course, this will partially resolve the problem. But not a single plan can foresee the entire course of technical progress or all the possible discoveries.

What, then, is needed? The answer to this question, once again, was already given, as we know, by Lenin. It is not imaginary cost accountability that is entangled in an administrative spider's web, but genuine, complete cost accountability with all the benefits and losses that result therefrom for each enterprise and worker. And the task consists not simply in returning to the cost accountability that developed in the early 1920's, but in developing and expanding it with a consideration of the gigantic scope of the national economy, obviously while reinforcing the overall planning guidance and monitoring on the part of the state. Of course, the level of cost accountability cannot be one and the same at large-scale and small enterprises, or in branches of heavy, light, local, and cooperative industry. Many of our enterprises and associations already have at their disposal experience in managing in this new way. But the last word in this regard has not been spoken. The most effective forms of cost accountability that correspond to the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution still have to be found and tested.

Question 6: The Plan and Commodity-Monetary Relations

Probably the most astonishing creation of the 1920's was the financial reform. Older people probably remember a song that used to be sung during the first prerevolutionary years: "I drop into a snack bar but I don't have a kopeck in change. Can you change a ten-million ruble bill?" Under conditions of a monstrous devaluation such as probably no other country in the world had known, a reform was carried out that stabilized the ruble in the shortest period of time and even guaranteed its exchange for other currencies.

How had it been possible to create an exchangeable gold ruble under an economy that had been brought to the point of complete ruin? Was there a secret? If so, it's time to guess, in order to learn how to overcome the apparently insurmountable obstacles, but it may be that those obstacles are not so much actual hindrances as they are prejudices that have formed.

The Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th party congress stated that it is time to overcome also the prejudice relative to commodity-monetary relations, and their underevaluation in the practice of the planning guidance of the economy. We may as well confess that many scientists -- philosophers and economists -- continue to assume that such concepts as money, commodity, market, profit, and credit are a survival of by-gone eras, and that the only qualitative characteristic of socialism is the plan.

Yes, the plan is the chief lever in the socialist economy. That is axiomatic. But how does it interact with commodity-monetary relations? Do they simply supplement one another? No, they are inconceivable without one another under the conditions of socialism, since the plan is actually an economic document, rather than an administrative one, only when it is based on commodity-monetary relatives that make it possible to count the income and expenses, the effectiveness and the losses, to carry out equivalent exchange, and to establish prices on the basis of the production costs, rather than on an arbitrary basis.

Money is the gauge of value and the expenditures of production. No one has thought of another replacement. During "war communism," we were forced to change over to the direct distribution of products and commodities. The repayment for this "running backwards" -- toward a precommodity economy -- was chaos in economic relations. That was excellently understood and constantly emphasized by Lenin. Nevertheless, the prejudices with respect to the socialist market and commodity-monetary relations have not been overcome to this day. Otherwise how do we explain the origin of the strange division into "commodity men" and "anticommodity men" among our scientists? It is strange because not a single "commodity man" would think of denying the importance of the plan under the conditions of socialism, just as, not a single "anticommodity man" would deny the role of commodity-monetary relations. The dispute concerns the measure of combining the plan and the market -- the two principles that are realistically inherent in our economy. Here, too, there are acute problems that proceed from practical life. The chief problem, in my view, concerns the breakdowns in the organic tie between money and the commodity. A situation has developed in which many enterprises and kolkhozes have money, and the public has money, but there are not enough commodities. What, then, is the problem? Judging by common sense, if you have money, you can invest it in the production of the commodities or services that you are interested in. However, this by no means happens in every case.

How we restore the normal interaction between money and the commodity is a very important task in the development of our financial system. In order to resolve it we need well thought-out measures to improve the entire mechanism of commodity-monetary relations. The study of the Leninist financial reform can greatly help the situation.

Question 7: The Use of Contradictions Under Socialism

As though foreseeing the arguments and discussions in our day concerning the contradictions under socialism, Lenin provided a clear-cut and indisputable formula: "Antagonism and contradiction are by no means one and the same thing. The former will disappear, and the latter will remain under socialism." Nevertheless, in the scientific environment, and among many people in actual practice, there has formed a conviction that, speaking directly, we could call an extremely naive one: the

conviction that, under socialism, all contradictions are harmful and that they must be "liquidated." But this is the same thing (forgive me for making a primitive comparison) as attempting to "liquidate" the biological differences between man and woman; in both instances it would mean the cessation of reproduction... How, in general, can contradictions disappear if they act as the locomotive of social progress?

The chief problem is finding the measure of the combination and interaction between the contradictory principles in conformity with the new needs of development. The political art consists in defining that measure. Let us take an example from the area of administration. Even the smallest collective, inevitably includes within itself people with various views concerning various problems. What to do? One method -- the administrative, authoritarian one -- consists of "cutting off" those views (and, perhaps, also the persons expressing them), which do not coincide with the opinion of the collective's manager or board of governors. Another method -- the intelligent, democratic one -- consists in integrating the various opinions and developing on their basis the most effective decision. This is "more complicated," but it is only this approach that proves its value in practice. The idea of self-government that was elaborated in the new edition of the CPSU Program presupposes first the development of production democracy within the confines of the labor collective -- the expansion of the election principle, publicity, the workers' participation in the discussion and resolution of the vitally important problems of production. We must all become accustomed to living and working in a dynamic, contradictory, competitive society, where the gains will be won by active participation, devotion to the common cause, honest enterprise, innovation, and talent. The entire system of promoting people and giving incentives to them (wages, bonuses, job assignments, awards) must specifically encourage those qualities in the workers. Perhaps this is precisely what constitutes the most difficult problem in the reorganizing of our consciousness, and it is precisely along these paths that we will be able to overcome the elements of fatigue, indifference, and stagnation that have appeared in it.

It would seem that the discussion about contradictions which not too long ago shook the walls of our philosophical home moved not completely in the necessary direction. People argued about whether antagonisms exist under socialism, although many years ago Lenin introduced clarity into that question. People argued about the "chief" and the "unchief" contradiction, although many years ago Marx and Engels discovered the law that characterizes the dynamics of the productive forces and production relations.

In my view, the problem that constitutes the actual -- theoretically and completely practical -- one is completely different: how to use the existing contradictions of socialism as a source for accelerating its development. That is precisely the problem that the economic and other reforms are resolving. From the dialectical point of view, the substantiated reforms are a completely natural response to the real demands of the present-day stage in the scientific-technical revolution. This is a natural process of constant renovation of the channels through which the blood circulates in the national economy, rather than the result of any "crisis of socialism" or its "stagnation," as our opponents assert. One can speak only about the promptness or the delay in carrying out these reforms, but those reforms themselves are a necessary element in the entire process of the development of society.

We are speaking about a more successful combination of largely contradictory principles of socialism as the plan and commodity-monetary relations; the measure of labor and consumption; social justice and effectiveness; the principles of social equality and differentiation in the payment of labor; and professionalism and self-government in the management of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

I would especially like to emphasize the importance of the mechanism of genuine economic competition. Lenin wrote about competition with the economy of the capitalist countries, competition among enterprises within our own country, and between the state and cooperative economy.

As experience has shown, state administration of a particular sphere of activity -- whether it be in the production of material values or of spiritual ones -- must be supplemented by the mechanism of genuine economic and psychological competition among individual enterprises, cooperatives, scientific centers, motion-picture associations, television studios, and newspaper and magazine publishing houses. Without the fresh breeze of honest struggle and competitiveness, which do not hinder, but, rather, help cooperation and mutual aid, any sphere of activity can be converted into an immoveable tree-filled (if not completely swamped) lake.

Obviously, it is necessary to do the job in such a way that every enterprise compares its output with the best worldwide standards. The more actively we compete with foreign commodities on the international and domestic market, the more successfully we shall advance the modernization of production and technological progress.

The basic goal of socialism is the welfare and culture of the working man. The attainment of this goal depends, in the final analysis, upon his own efforts and his ability to perform productive labor and to use the achievements of scientific-technical progress. It is precisely the development of these human qualities, it is precisely the human factor, that is served by the current strategy of making a sharp turn, a strategy that has been well tested on the whetstone of Lenin's ideas and a gigantic amount of practical experience.

CONSTRUCTION DELAY REPORTED AT KALININ NUCLEAR PLANT

WA071100 Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by V. Ovchinnikov: "Deadlines and Volumes"]

[Text] An alarming situation has developed in construction of the second power-generating unit -- the "one million [kilowatt unit]" start-up of which should be in June of this year.

"A large amount of work remains. It is better to delay the start-up of the unit and then have it operate reliably," the chief engineer of the AES [nuclear power plant] A. Mazalov said in characterizing the situation.

The builders and installers are now working rather intensively. Soyuztsentratomenergostroy [All-Union Construction of Atomic Power Stations], Minenergo SSSR [USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification], sent several installers and other specialists to the plant at the end of last year. The main installation organizations involved in the power-generating unit overfulfilled the January and February plan.

And still there was too much omitted last year.

But let us try to analyze everything in order. The first and main question is equipment. Has everything been received?

"Practically everything," confidently answers the deputy director of the Kalinin Nuclear Power Plant for capital construction V. Ponomarev. "There is still not enough support reinforcement," interject the brigade leaders of the installation teams, working in the reactor section.

Thus, brigade leader of the Udomlya MU [Installation Administration], Sevzapenergomontazh [Assembly of Power Systems of the Northwest and West] Ye. Malkov relates: "Take a look, there should be five gate valves -- complex, heavy, large units of special metal -- in this pipeline assembly -- each as thick as a good-sized log. Four of them were delivered long ago, but we have still not received the fifth one, making it impossible to install any one of them. There is exactly the same pattern with 'shaped' parts -- cast parts for joining assemblies and pipes -- pipe unions, tee-pieces and drains."

As we can see, V. Ponomarev spoke too soon. The following are not yet at the construction site: fitting -- more than 100 units; equipment for the ORU-750; shaped cast parts -- more than 2 tons!

The teams of the Udomlya Installation Administration, Sevzapenergomontazh Trust, are headed by V. Moiseyev, V. Mayboroda, N. Shiryayev and T. Levchenkov, who prepared the turbine of the second power-generating unit to operate and to pump oil. Were the installers successful? Undoubtedly they were. But they are also indignant:

"Like pirates, the operators during the night shift took the equipment sent to us for installation and used it to repair the first power-generating unit. Let us assume that these actions were justified by urgent need. But why was all this not been replaced? And now we have prepared the oil-pump turbine ahead of schedule, but what is the use? There is nothing for it to pump, the client has the oil pump," says team leader A. Shiryayev. "Moreover, the operators are modifying the equipment after installation rather than before installation. You install and center a pump, they take everything away and then assemble it haphazardously, leave the centering to us, and sometimes many parts are missing."

"There is a lot of confusion at the site," team leader A. Mikushin says, supporting his colleague. "The prestart procedures are underway, the hydrostatic tests are beginning in the machine room, but there is no drain system in the basement where we work and it fills with water. And it is also dark -- there are only two or three lamps."

The chief engineer of the Gidroelektromontazh [Assembly of Hydraulic and Electric Power Systems] Administration A. Grushin expressed a similar complaint: "Once we were required to prepare urgently the stator cooling pump for hydrostatic tests for operation. Our people worked all night and later it turned out that no one needed the pump."

The construction site has entered a period when plant personnel should be working alongside the installers. But there are not enough of them. There is also no coordination in the actions of neighboring workers. What does the contractor think about all of this? Here is the opinion of the deputy chief of the construction administration of KAES [Kalinin Nuclear Power Plant] M. Rozenbaum: "Yes, the deadlines are being tightened. It is time to begin hydrostatic tests and circulation flushing of the first circuit. To do this, 36 pipeline systems and equipment must be prepared for functional testing and far from all of them have been prepared. True, some equipment, especially electrical engineering equipment, remains to be installed. Hardly anything has been done due to the absence of work by the heat installers. And we all do not share A. Mazalov's pessimism. The power-generating unit can be started up in June of this year and it should be."

There is experience of starting up exactly the same unit within 78 days from the beginning of hydrostatic tests and before inclusion in the network at the Southern Ukraine Nuclear Power Plant. But to transform possibility into reality, the Soyuzatomenergo [All Union Atomic Power Stations] Administration must send without

delay operational and repair personnel of the operating service to the unit, where there is presently a shortage of more than 100 persons. And those very people must be sent who started up the unit in the Ukraine within 78 days.

To eliminate confusion, a plenipotentiary representative of the ministry, who coordinates prestarting procedures, is now required at the site. The director of the Kaliningrad Nuclear Power Plant G. Shchapov has turned over all matters related to construction of the second power-generating unit to chief engineer A. Mazalov. And we have already talked about his position at the very beginning of this article.

It is stated in the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress with respect to the Political Report to the CPSU Central Committee: "Modern management requires rearrangement of thinking and rejection of established stereotypes." Based on these requirements, it is obvious that the director of the Kaliningrad Nuclear Power Plant G. Shchapov and the chief of VPO [All-Union Production Association] Soyuzatomenergo G. Veretennikov should also solve the current problems of the construction site.

TASS REPORTS SUCCESSFUL SOYUZ-SALYUT LINKUP

LD061746 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS -- The Soviet cosmonauts, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyev, docked their spacecraft Soyuz T-15 with the orbital complex Salyut-7 - Cosmos-1686 today at 20:58 Moscow time, in line with the flight schedule.

The flight from one orbital station to another was carried out for the first time in the history of manned space missions.

Linkup Detailed

LD061955 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 6 May 86

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, May 6 TASS -- TASS special correspondent Valentin Ovcharov reports from mission control centre:

Electric light burns again in the portholes of the station Salyut-7 after a more than five-month-long interval. It was switched on by Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyo on returning to what was to them and also to Oleg Atkov their home in space for almost the whole of 1984. This time however the road to the station began not on earth but on a near-earth orbit.

When the "beacons", as is the call signal of Kizim and Solovyov, undocked with the Mir station their ship and the complex Salyut-7-Cosmos-1686 were more than 3,000 kilometres apart. Their orbits were in the same plane but the complex was far ahead of Soyuz Y-15. So the first thing the "beacons" had to do was to catch up with it.

"Although there is sufficient fuel on board the Soyuz the ballistics experts decided to use at first the laws of celestial mechanics", deputy mission commander Viktor Blagov said before docking. "It was already four revolutions after separating from Mir that the ship responded to a command and 'darted' to a lower orbit".

"Today, with the help of two corrections, we again sent it to the required altitude. Simultaneously, using the propulsion units of Cosmos-1686, we oriented the complex to the required position. The approach and docking will be done manually.

A. Belozerov, a docking specialist at the cosmonauts' training centre, said, "the craft's alignment was noticeably altered by the three hundred kilograms of cargo. Nevertheless, in my view, Leonid Kizim will cope with the task.

On May 2 and 3, over the radio, we mentally practised with the crew all docking up actions. I think that the commander did not lose the skills acquired during months of training at the cosmonauts' training centre.

I have to admit, through, that some things had to be repeated. Everything had been prepared for manual link-up before the launch of the Mayaks. Additional equipment is on board the craft, including a laser range-finder, special binoculars and an instument which makes it possible to carry out the approach operation even in the shadow of the planet.

Orientation and movement controls had been fitted, too. The commander and the flight engineer will use mini-computers, charts and maps that will also help them in work."

...The dot marking Soyuz T-15 on the map can hardly be discerned. The ship and the complex are now over South America. The cosmonauts enter the zone of radio visibility from the vessel Kosmonavt Georgiy Dobrovolskiy. "The range is 1,015 metres, the speed is 3.5 metres per second, V. Solovyov's says. "We start braking. The range is 545 metres, the speed is 2.2 metres...".

"Do check if your speed is not too great," comes the suggestion from the earth. "The speed is slackening", L. Kizim reports. "It is now 0.3 metres per second...". The vessel Kosmonavt Vladislav Voldov drifting off the west coast of Africa joins in the radio exchange. "We start flying over the station. We are approaching the instrument compartment", the commander reports. "The range is 50 metres...".

Space television now switches on and the image of the link-up junction of the station appears on the screen. It rapidly fades in. "The link-up has been made", L. Kizim reports.

"Congratulations, the beacons. Well done, thank you".

The first station-to-station transfer in the history of cosmonautics has been successfully concluded.

Cosmonauts To Continue Studies

LD070820 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- Cosmonauts Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovev, carrying on their flight program, docked the Soyuz T-15 spaceship with the Salyut-7 -- Cosmos-1686 orbital complex at 8:58 p.m. Moscow time on May 6. It was for the first time in the history of manned space flights that spacemen flew from one orbital station to another.

The rapprochement and docking of the ship with the station were carried out in several stages. While the Soyuz T-15 was in autonomous flight, its trajectory was corrected two times to bring it to the orbit of the Salyut-7 -- Cosmos-1686 complex at a distance of about five kilometres from it. Subsequent rapprochement operations were carried out by the crew manually with the help of the onboard computer and optical devices. The efficient operations of the crew ensured contact and docking at the present time. Having verified the air-tightness of the docking unit, the cosmonauts transferred into the station.

The Salyut-7 station has been functioning in a near-earth orbit for four years, including more than two years in the manned regime. During that period the station received four extended visits of nine crews, including two international ones.

Continuing their mission aboard the Salyut-7 station, Kizim and Solovev will carry on scientific and technological studies and experiments under the program of its operation and conduct a series of standard prophylactic operations. According to telemetry information, the flight of the manned Salyut-7 -- Soyuz T-15 -- Cosmos-1686 complex and the automatic Mir-Progress-26 complex is proceeding normally.

The successful transfer of the crew from the Mir station to Salyut-7 is a major accomplishment in space exploration, opening fresh possibilities for servicing research complexes.